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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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I.

THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND ENGLISH LITERATURE.

English literature owes very much to France,—not only to France as the source of literary material and as the refiner of the English language,—but to France as the exemplar of the finest method of classifying the philosophical tendencies of our literature. It is true that Shakespeare was not well received by his Gallic neighbors during his life time, but it must be admitted that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he was nearly as well valued in France as he was in England, and that when appreciation, in the critical sense, did come, it arrived with an enthusiasm which was only bounded by the limits of French comprehension of a genius of very alien qualities.

No philosophy of English literature could be written without taking Taine into account, and since M. Jusserand has interpreted English literature so sympathetically and luminously no adequate volume on English literature can be written without reference to his labors. And we are grateful to him for saving us the trouble of reading many minute monographs on subjects more or less important, which the conscientious student would otherwise use much time in considering.

M. Jusserand has the carefulness of a German University worker of the most scrupulous school, with a lightness of touch,

a breadth of sympathy and a perception of values, as well as a delicacy of expression, which German University research workers seldom possess. *L'Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais: de la Renaissance a la Guerre Civile*, contains, including the indices, nine hundred and ninety-four pages. This sounds imposing and even appalling to the modern reader who is in the habit of devouring condensations and who complains that even condensations are not sufficiently condensed, but, if there is any objection to the form of this book, it is that the eye has not been considered. It seems difficult simply because it looks large. Since this is not merely a book for references, but one which has a charm of style and a literary interest that raise M. Jusserand from the character of a mere chronicler into that of a magician who makes a picture of every epoch and gilds even the duller subject, a less ponderous form might be advisable; nevertheless, the form cannot daunt those who know that his power of coloring with beauty and interest is like that of William Morris' mage in "The Earthly Paradise." This is the more wonderful when we consider the quality as well as the quantity of his material.

Succeeding a remarkably clear analysis of the epoch of the Renaissance in Europe come several chapters of particular charm in which the effect of the art of printing, the Renaissance in England, Humanism in England and the religious question as it affected literature and social conditions are treated from a point of view very unusual even in the most impartial books of this kind. It is difficult to eradicate the prejudices that have been sedulously inculcated for five hundred years, and it is not until very recently that English and American writers on literary history have begun to free themselves from historical traditions which were nothing less than a conspiracy against truth, although the point of view resulting from this conspiracy has often been only subconscious. M. Jusserand, whose ancestors were not brought up under the pressure of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," is entirely free from these influences; and what gives his great volume another important value is that he is also free from any determination to force conclusions from premises which will not stand them. The very apparent animus in Taine which obliges us to agree

or disagree constantly with his philosophy, and distracts our attention from his facts, is absent in this *Histoire Littéraire*.

M. Jusserand pays great attention to the position of Henry VIII. in the movement toward the new learning in England. "The new king," he says, "who had succeeded his father in 1509, was nineteen years of age. He was handsome, instructed, and full of vitality; he loved hunting, amusements and the arts. He knew as much Latin as the Oxford clerks." In a word, he was well fitted to lead with acuteness of brain and gaiety of heart in that movement which was to give England Shakespeare, Spenser, and later, in spite of the neutralizing influence of Puritanism, even Milton. He was in advance of his time in his love of painting; architecture was one of his favorite pursuits. He loved all sorts of public celebrations. To quote M. Jusserand, "he disguised himself as a Roman Emperor, as a Knight of the Loyal Heart, as one of Robin Hood's archers; to judge by its beginning his reign would be a perpetual field of the cloth of gold and a perennial 'Romance of the Rose.' He knew the merits of the English language; he encouraged the national drama, and 'showed his disapproval of those ill-conditioned auditors who left the theatre in the middle of the play when it was too tiresome.' Gay, vital, brilliantly married to the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, Catherine of Aragon, which assured him the powerful support of the house of Spain, he smiled at life. He loved to be seen by the people. He wished to be admired and he desired that all eyes should turn toward him: those of the Pope, of the English people, of the King of France, and of the foreign ambassadors. He sought occasions to shine in public: the most important as well as the least. Hardly on his throne he dreamt of renewing the glory of the Plantagenets; he wanted to take Guyenne and begin the war of a hundred years. He attempted to dazzle the envoys of Venice by speaking four languages to them. He showed himself to them covered with jewels; his hands were one mass of rings and precious stones."

This vanity as to his appearance and strength delighted his people who saw in it only royal youth rejoicing in its power. "Proud as he was of his figure, he was equally proud of his knowledge. If an audacious German monk astounded Chris-

tendom by the temerity of his attacks, Henry did not leave to theologians the honor of crushing the 'serpent'; he rushed to the front, turning for a time from the warlike occupations and state affairs, to which, as he wrote the Pope, 'he had consecrated his early years.' He confounded the heretics by his arguments; he would be the rampart of the Church and the object of universal admiration." Nothing pleased him better than the news that Leo X. had uttered delighted exclamations on reading certain passages in the volume, and had sent it to all the kings in Christendom. Henry was as pious as he was learned in theology. "He heard three Masses on each of the days when he hunted, and five on the other days." He loved music as much as he loved architecture and in this very musical age he played various musical instruments and sang at sight. He composed both the air and the words of songs; he devoted himself to medicine and protected the famous Italian, Gemini. He even compounded certain prescriptions against the plague. He attracted learned men. He set up the table of the gods, as it were, in his palace. Erasmus, Polydore Vergil and Holbein were among his favorites. In a word, if anybody doubted that Elizabeth was the daughter of her father, his character at this time, his colossal vanity, his illimitable pride and heartlessness,—later reflected in her,—would give the lie to a dejection which might otherwise have seemed well founded.

Another splendid figure in this renaissance of all the sciences, both gay and serious, was Wolsey, who early in Henry's reign began, while ostensibly crowned with honors, the procession of victims to the monstrous selfishness of Henry. Wolsey was willing to take the responsibility for all the despotic and arbitrary acts of Henry, while the young king played the part of a beautiful and beneficent deity. Wolsey was at once a son and precursor of the Renaissance, and with the young Apollo leading the steeds of the morning, and the potent and cultivated dictator following him in an auroral blaze of glory, letters and art awakened. As M. Jusserand says, "scholars arose in England. Grammars, dictionaries and all the paraphernalia of Humanism were in every student's hands. The English began to be Italianate in their frenzy for the revived learning of the continent. They went to Italy and France to learn Greek.

Lily to Rome, Latimer to Padua, Colet to Paris and Italy. On returning to their country, they concerned themselves with the education of the nation. Grocyn taught Greek at Oxford; Colet, rich, ardent, generous and resisting the natural passion which drew him toward pleasure and amusement, became Dean of St. Paul in 1505, and founded a school which soon became celebrated, and which still flourishes today." This school was not entirely clerical and was dedicated to the Honorable Company of Mercers of London, who administered his temporalities. Erasmus' letter, "*Jodoco Jonae Erphordiensiæ*" was dedicated to the character of this wise, good and learned man, who saw that the best aid to the progress of religion was through the culture of tolerant and high-minded men. The names of Fisher, Colet and More stand out in luminous contrast to the background of dark rapacity and intolerant ignorance of the time. William Lily wrote for this school a Latin Grammar which has not been forgotten. Erasmus composed several learned treatises in honor of Colet and England.

Dutch Humanism congratulated Colet on the foundation of this academy; "the handsomest and most magnificent imaginable." Wolsey began a school at Ipswich which he endowed munificently. At Oxford he founded Cardinal College which, on his fall, became King's College and which today is Christ's Church. He determined that the best professors should be chosen to teach the British the most elegant literature and at the same time to form the character of the pupils. He had eight classes. In the first were placed the students for the work of preparation. In the second Cato was studied; in the third, Aesop and Terence; in the fourth, Vergil himself, of all poets the chief, "whose poems should be read aloud in a beautiful and sonorous voice in order that their grandeur may be valued." And then came Cicero, Cæsar, Horace and Ovid, accompanied step by step with various portions of Lily's Grammar. This was before the reformation, it must be remembered; and Jusserand aptly remarks that this field of studies for a preparatory school was surely remarkable. It was so vast that the Cardinal feared its weight and prescribed certain amusement in order that the minds of the students would not be depressed by too many lectures and immoderate

tension. Classical education appeared to Wolsey, who represented the cultivated Catholics of his time, to be a holy work. Bishop Fisher at Cambridge heartily agreed in this opinion.

M. Jusserand is not a special pleader; his scientific impartiality is very comfortable for the reader who wants to feel safe, and who dislikes partisanship. And yet one can perceive a touch of good-natured irony in his manner towards these illogical English; and at times one is not sure whether it is their lack of logic on the part of the English in the sixteenth century or their lack of humor where their rulers are concerned. There is a certain twinkle of the eye when M. Jusserand chronicles the fact that Henry VIII. dies, though excommunicated, "always Catholic, recommending his soul to 'the glorious and blessed Virgin, Our Lady Holy Mary,' and founding by his will, as if he were in the good old times a chantery like those he had suppressed by the thousand" with an altar on which Masses should be said for his soul perpetually, each day, as long as the world should last. This is attested by the evidence of the will in the *Faadera* of Rymer, December 30, 1546. Henry died on January 28, 1547.

M. Jusserand's description of the process by which England became Protestant is admirably acute and graphic. The real progress of the reformed religion was feeble; only the outside was changed, "the ancient order was hidden, but the new was not sincerely adopted." The new services were looked on by the traditionalists and the people at large as "Christmas games." The rebels of Devon did not hesitate to use this phrase. A less rigid queen than Mary might have kept the conservative English in the Church, a St. Charles Borromeo or a St. Philip de Neri might have revived what little mysticism remained in them. And, in this, M. Jusserand seems to be right. There were two facts which appealed to this illogical and comfort-loving people,—conservatives are always in love with comfort,—the weight of authority and the love for the Church in so far as it was that of their ancestors. But the "divine right" of the English kind had obscured the authority that lay in Rome, and English literature from the precursors of Chaucer down had represented the national spirit as at war with Italian influences. Wolsey, in his policy of dividing and

conquering, had cut the ground from under his feet. The Venetian ambassador said, later, in the reign of Elizabeth, that, "generally speaking, the English live as their prince lives and believe what he believes; they obey his orders, yielding not to moral conviction, but to the fear of displeasing him; they would follow with equal zeal the Jewish or Mussulman religion, if the king commanded them to adopt it." Giovanni Michele's statement is extreme, but it was justified by the aspect of the times. When Elizabeth came to the throne, she saw that the English,—who seemed to have ceased to be mystical,—were inclined to a middle course. This middle course of the Anglican Church was, as M. Jusserand remarks, with careful politeness, somewhat incoherent; the basis of the Thirty-nine articles was rather a jumble, but Elizabeth saw that her safety lay that way, yet she despised the married clergy, looked on a service of worship in the English tongue as beneath the dignity of a God whom kings worshipped, and scorned the rawness of the new dispensation. She saw how the current ran, and she desired to seem to direct it. "*Elizabeth ne brusque rien; elle a des pourparlers avec Rome qui attend beaucoup de sa moderation, la voit lutter contre les Protestants extreme, se plaire aux ceremonies at preter l'oreille a des projets de mariage avec tous les princes catholiques du continent. Le pape retenait ses foudres; il les lancera plus tard, trop tard: 'Et privamus eandem Elizabeth de praetenso jure regni, 1570.'*" A cette date, la partie est gagnée, le courant est nettement etabli, parfaitement visible, et les anathemes de Rome sont de nul effet."

To this entirely utilitarian attitude of Elizabeth is due the great commercial progress of England during her reign. The English wanted to become rich. Mental agitation, which disturbed the farmer or the country squire, theological disputes which logically produced political agitation, must be calmed,—England must be idealized and made the center of all effort,—England represented by the Queen. She, the most astute woman of her time, knew that the rage for riches could kill both parties,—the party for the restoration of the Catholic Church and that other party which she heartily hated, the party of Puritanism.

The sane influences of culture which Henry VIII. had encouraged, and which More and Colet and Fisher, aided by Wolsey, had strengthened, were not impeded by Elizabeth. She loved the elegancies of life and literature was one of these elegancies. Besides, literature added to her splendor and flattered her vanity; again, she was her father's daughter, and the cause of culture, which added to the joy of life, flowed under her smiles. The patriotic and amiable Ascham had not inspired her with enthusiasm for English prose or poetry:—but she liked the spectacle, and “Elizabeth ne brusque rien.” Shakespeare was but one of many, and the buffooneries of his clowns were more to her taste than the psychological moments of his heroes. It is not recorded that she gave the poet who did not egregiously flatter her any token of her esteem. In this, as M. Jusserand remarks, she was an exception to the princes of her time, who, like James V. of Scotland, showed men of letters and literature high favor. Elizabeth favored no writer; her father had favored a score of brilliant humanists at his court.

The “Arcadia” of Sir. Philip Sidney was the persiflage of sentiment and romance; the “Utopia” of Sir Thomas More was the wisdom of sentiment and romance. It was an audacious plunge into sociological matters which Elizabeth would not have tolerated in her time. Shakespeare might sketch an ideal society in the “Tempest,” but then Shakespeare was neither Lord Chancellor nor a great scholar. In her heart, Elizabeth probably had scant reverence for the mere writer in the vulgar tongue.

Of More, “the man for all hours,” M. Jusserand writes with insight and even affection;—certainly, with entire comprehension,—as the first of the English humanists. “The laugh of Erasmus,” he says, “is cruel; the smile of More is tinged with pity.” More speaks out for mercy to animals in an unmerciful age. “Il est pour le peuple contre les grands et pour les pauvres contre les riches. Ni La Bruyère, ni Rousseau, ni Adam Smith n’ont parlé avec plus de chaleur.” He paints a pathetic picture of the English countries even then troubled by a great economic change,—the transformation of agricultural lands into grazing fields.” “Un seul berger suffisait pour

d'immenses troupes praqués dans des propriétés closes; les laboureurs chassés mouraient de faim." The "Utopia" had not, however, furthered the progress of English prose. Nevertheless the tyranny of Greek and Latin weakened. More wrote treatises in the vernacular. There was the translation of the life of Pico Mirandola. Then, too, was his essay on the reign of Richard III. His style is oratorical after the manner of Cicero. He is not an impartial historian, and he aims for eloquence. His sub-acid humor and his whimsicality of phrase are great parts of his style. He is full of metaphors taken from common life, and his common sense is evident. He dislikes the manner of writing which conceals thought, where "you cannot see the woods for the leaves." His polemical writings are full of movement; he is even "lyrical," as M. Jusserand puts it; he rails wittily at his adversary; his wit is peppery; he laughs frankly,—but his interminable sentences make his prose hard to read. "They fatigue the reader," says M. Jusserand, "but they pleased the hearers." Stories abound and the lighter, more personal, simple character of English prose, which had hitherto been a harsh instrument, dates from More. Educated men, who had before this despised it, would now perfect its melodies and harmonies. From More to Hooker, who made the best of an illogical case, the progressive movement is rapid.

This movement, which made for the purity of language and the perfections of style, was at its height in Queen Elizabeth's time. Shakespeare and Ben Johnson, Spenser and Fletcher, Sidney and Campion did not live in an age when gentlemen were careless in their speech. The ladies of the court might swear, it is true, but the gentlemen of the playhouse used words,—when not profane,—with nice discrimination. Sir Thomas Smith, a man of mark, wrote a treatise on English spelling and pronunciation. "Henne," "denne," "fenne" did not suit him. He felt, as our own lexicographer, Webster, felt about "honour." He must have "hen," "den," "fen." Richard Carew announced that the teutonic words in the English language might have as great a pedigree as if they were Greek or Latin. The English language, he said, with marvellous boldness for the time, concentrated the best of all lan-

guages. "And, finally," says M. Jusserand, "the regent of Parnassus, Ben Jonson, did not disdain to compile, for the good of all foreigners, an English Grammar."

Foxe reached the people through the simple English of his "Book of Martyrs," chained for their use in every important church. Had it been written in Latinized English, it would have failed of its effect. And that effect, in spite of corrections, denials, attacks,—remains to this day in the hearts of the middle classes of England. George Gascoyne precedes Herbert Spenser in his plea for short words,—“The moste aun-cient English wordes are of one sillable, so that the more mono-syllables that you use, the truer Englishman you shall seeme.” Giles Fletcher scorns the borrowers of foreign words.

Prosody became a theme for learned battles. Two schools arose. One for the adopting of the antique rhythm without rime; the other for rime. Sidney fought for the metres of the changeless languages, Spenser followed him for a time. Campion spoke with the authority of a delicate musician for the linked sweetness of rhythm.

Richard Carew, in his epistles concerning the elegancies of the English tongue, declared "The French delicate but even as nice as a woman scarce daring to open her lips for fear of marring her countenance; the Spanish majestic but fulsome, leaning too much on the O and terrible like the devil in a play." The defenders of the application of the classical rules of scansion to English verse were not discouraged by the difficulties of such an application in spite of the fact that Campion and other masters of the art of rhythm and rhyme declared against them. Idylls, dialogues and pastorals were cultivated, as Jusserand remarks, by this energetic revival. Vergil was translated in verse exactly similar to his own, in spite of the fact that this imitation bewildered the mind and pained the ear. Ascham and the defenders of the classical system exhausted their vocabularies of abuse on their opponents and were saluted by the same terms in return. "Go," Ascham said, "rime with the Goths, rather than make real verses with the Greeks,—eat husks with the hogs rather than bread with men." Traces of this struggle still remained in Milton's time. He, in adopting blank verse for his great masterpiece, could not re-

frain from alluding to rime as the relic of a barbarous time. The dispute in our day is ended, though there is a new school arising,—a school to which Coventry Patmore and Sydney Lanier, following Champion, have given an impetus,—which is all for the music of Poe rather than the conventionalities of poets who could not see that English poetry will not bear the arbitrary movement of Theocritus and Vergil. But in the days of Queen Elizabeth poetry as an art was taken almost as seriously as it is today among the critics in France, who unfortunately have taken to writing about one another. “Prosodies and treatises on literature followed one another full of injunctions and advice, of curious facts, sometimes full of good counsels and sometimes of false: the work of Gascoigne, simple, practical, reasonable, of Sidney, the most charming of all, of Webbe, enemy of rime, but a great admirer, nevertheless, of a ‘new poet,’ Master Sp. otherwise known as Spenser”: of Puttenham, scholarly, long-winded, full at times of rather coarse anecdotes and of pedantical explanations arranged for the instruction and amusement of Queen Elizabeth; and finally the works of the conscientious James VI., of Scotland, who chose from among the precepts of his predecessors and above all from Gascoigne, and made his little treatise of recommendations, wise and somewhat commonplace. The poets laughed at him unreasonably, after the manner in which poor Polonius was mocked. The same things said by another than this royal wise-acre would have been received by them as oracular. The clash of opinions as to English prosody brought out Sidney’s “Defense of Poesy.” It is a pity that this delightful, graceful and witty treatise is not more generally known. Not very long ago Professor Cook of Yale edited an edition for American readers but it has not been so well circulated as it ought to be, owing probably to the fact that delicate examination of English verse is, for want of time, not the rule in our collegiate courses. This treatise is one of the masterpieces of the great English prose of the time of Elizabeth, and Jusserand well calls it the pearl of the library of English prosodists.

Sidney defends poesy by which he understands all works of the imagination. “There are many excellent poets,” he says, “who have never versified, and we have a swarm of versi-

fiers who do not merit the name of poets." He was sure of the merits of the English language which was superior to the Latin and at least equal to the Greek. He was unhappy over the absence of great contemporary masterpieces. He was to die without having seen Romeo played or heard the music of the Fairie Queene.

In Sidney's opinion poetry was superior to history or philosophy; poetry was a standard of life; it instructed and improved mankind; unlike Shakespeare or the romanticist of the playhouse he would have retained in the drama the three unities, the messenger and the rules of Aristotle. The Mediæval, romantic color of the early nineteenth century poetry is supposed to be due to the influence of Goethe, Percy's *Reliques* and Sir Walter Scott; but before Sir Walter Scott, English literature had Sidney whose heart trembled at the music of the old border ballads as if his being had been shaken by the sound of a trumpet. He loved the popular songs of Ireland and Scotland, of Robin Hood, of Arthur and of Roland. He was never weary of praising Chaucer's marvellous poem of *Troilus*; of acclaiming Spenser, who had just given the world the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

Jusserand noticed a curious trend in the writing of this earlier Elizabethan period, the interest of these poets in all that was human. Their imagination embraced the world. Sidney is interested in the Turks and Tartars as well as in the Italians and the Romans. Daniel speaks of the Turks too, and cannibals and Chinese frequently appear in the writings of this period. Still in spite of the high eulogies of the value of the English language and English poetry, the classics were immensely in vogue.

Stonyhurst, who was exiled to the continent because of his religion, made, in English hexameter, a translation of the *Aeneid*. The humorous were delighted by his seriousness, his conviction of the value of his work, and its absurdity. The pedant, Harvey, who never laughed, saw in Stonyhurst a scholar who deserved his benediction. This added to the amusement excited by the man and the work. M. Jusserand gives an example of the manner of Stonyhurst. "As a sample of his manner; when Laocoön hurled his javelin against the

horse—Virgil said,—*Insonuere cavae gemitumque cavernae.*”

“Then the jade, hit, shivered, thee vaults haulf shrillye rebounded,

“With clush clash buzzing, with drooming clattered humming,” said Stonyhurst, who made Ascham responsible for his hexameter. The Greek retained many faithful souls. Sophocles and Theocritus were translated. The great Homer himself was rendered by Chapman. The literary fecundity of the time was amazing. Puritanism,—which was simply logical Protestantism,—had not yet stepped in to kill all love for beauty in the arts. The influence of More, of Colet, of Wolsey gathered force and the renaissance of literary beauty in England was at its height. At no time had England been more musical. The lute and the recorder hung in every barber shop and feast days were merry with the sound of the glee and the madrigal. Elizabeth, mistress of compromises, but hating some things with a fierce hatred in her heart, would not tolerate the Puritan mar-sports. Had it suited her policy, had she been bold enough to do so, had she not feared the growing power of Protestantism, she would have declared for the ancient Church in whose light the arts had begun to flourish in England under the reign of her father. As it was, for political reasons, she persecuted the Seminary priests and laid a heavy hand on such recusants as were not intimate friends of hers; but it was in anger, contempt and disgust that she sent the Puritan to the stake as the enemy of all that made life delightful and added to her triumphant progress through the age.

Moderns, at whose very names the ultra preachers shivered as at the names of devils, were translated. That popularity of the Spanish literature which later became very wide was begun by translations from Guevara, Montemayor, and Lazarillo de Tormes. The young English became “Italianate.” They were as Roman or as Venetian or as Paduan as our young gentlemen were a short time ago English, only their imitations were intellectual rather than merely instinctive. As Jusserand says, the floods were awakened. “There were many currents and counter-currents, a great shock of ideas; foreigners began to be understood; nationality awakened and patriotism was the rule.” The question of religious reform

was dropped among the scholars. Most of the clever nobility and gentry of England were either Catholics or what in our times would be called agnostic. They either delighted in the beauty of the Catholic Church as it appeared in splendid ceremonies on the continent, or borrowed the religious ideas of Machiavelli's prince, to whom religion was merely a kind of mortar with which to keep together the stones of the social fabric.

They threw themselves with enthusiasm not into seeking the absolute but into the search for a perfect means of expressing the joy of life. There arose, too, a voice above all these musical singers of the joys of earthly love. This was the voice of Southwell. "This unfortunate Jesuit, a true poet, and a young martyr whose imagination was large and growing, who wrote as skillfully his pious hymns as the worldly poets their varied metres; he deplored their frivolity and thought that they deserved his phrase 'lyrist, lover and liar are all the same.'" He sang in prison at the approach of death. His "Burning Babe," full of religious ecstasy, rivalled "Venus and Adonis" in popularity. His martyrdom lasted three years; and thirteen times he was put to the torture and no word extracted from him, and when he perished at Tyburn the crowds complained in pity judging that the cruelties inflicted on this innocent man were too horrible and too long drawn out. "I dye," he said, "but such a death has never end."

It is impossible in an article of this length to give more than a slight impression of M. Jusserand's correctness, interest and power of effective expression. But no late work proves so conclusively the impotence of the ultra reformers in the art of constructing anything beautiful or even interesting to normal humanity than these really charming and intensely interesting chapters on literary life, just previous and just after the reformation.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

II.

THE REVIVAL OF GAELIC.

I. THE VICISSITUDES OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGE.

One of the most interesting chapters in the History of Language is that which treats of the Latin from its earliest monuments and its relations to the other Italic dialects down to its Classical and Silver periods, its spread with the Roman legionaries and traders over the provinces of the Empire until it became practically the universal language of the greater part of the then known world, at least for administrative and official purposes. But the language which the Roman soldiers and camp-followers carried with them was not by any means all of a piece. It differed, to a considerable degree, according to the place and society in which it was spoken and the birth and profession of the speaker. By contact with speakers of non-Latin tongues and by the regular evolution of the popular speech itself these provincial varieties of the mediæval Latin took on, in the course of time, such pronounced characteristics and peculiarities as to differentiate them into new, distinct languages each again into varieties of its own, forming dialects, sub-dialects and patois. One or other of these dialects, by reason of political events which made its speakers the ruling race, or else by reason of literary prominence derived from a circle or generation of writers, became the recognized standard, the official or court language; hence the preeminence of the French of Paris, the Italian of Florence and the Spanish of Castile.

The story of the beginnings, spread and evolution of the Latin language into existing forms of Romance speech is pretty well known, but, however interesting its study may be, there is another group of languages the study of which, in spite of the fascination it never fails to exert upon those who embrace it and in spite of its importance in philological and historical respects, has received comparatively slight attention from students. These are the Celtic languages; a summary account of

the rise, spread, decline and revival of one of this group, the Irish, especially as a spoken language, will be the object of the present paper.

Irish, as is well known, belongs to the Celtic linguistic family which took its rise, so far as the investigations of Celts have shown, probably somewhere in Central Europe near the headwaters of the Danube. The language, in its different forms, spread with the Celts so that at one time, roughly speaking a half thousand years before the Christian era, it came to be spoken over the wide stretch of territory extending from Asia Minor in the East to the extremity of the European Continent in the West. It even crossed the English Channel, when and whence is not exactly known. In the western islands and in the Breton promontory of France, whither it was carried back in the fifth and following centuries of our era, it lives on to this day in two main branches each with three varieties. One of these is the Irish.

The Irish language can thus boast of a most respectable antiquity. It can produce evidence of its existence for at least two thousand years; it had been in use in the British Isles for possibly centuries earlier. It was spoken not only in Ireland but also by Irish invaders and colonists in Britain and it now survives as a living speech outside Ireland in the Isle of Man, where it is called Manx, and in the highlands of Scotland, where it is known as Erse or Scottish Gaelic.

In pagan times, that is before the evangelization of Ireland by St. Patrick and his predecessors in the fifth century and earlier, Irish, we may suppose, was the only language in the Island. In it, histories, laws, genealogies were written or transmitted by word of mouth. In it, the wonderful tales, some of which have come down to us in collections long afterwards made, were handed down orally or were committed to writing. With an Irish battle-cry troops and heroes went to battle, with an Irish cheer the hunters and Fenians of Erin drove the deer before them in the forest. With the introduction of Christianity into Ireland came the knowledge of Latin, but, such was the vigor of the native speech that the Latin always held a very subordinate place in the intellectual life of Ireland. It never had the faintest chance of becoming the language of the

people as had been the case in the rest of the Roman Empire, with the exception of Greece which, because of her superior civilization, preserved her proper speech despite the Roman conquest. Thus Ireland, in respect of her language, was doubly protected, not only by the good fortune which spared her from Roman sway, but also by the high degree of her native culture of which her language was the vehicle. When, again, in the sixth and following centuries, the Irish monks, Columban and Columb Cille, to mention but two of the best known, left home to spread the Gospel among the heathen of Britain and the Continent, Irish was the language in which they had received their learning in the great schools of Ireland, Irish was the tongue in which they conversed and comforted each other in their wanderings along the Rhine and Danube, over the mountains of Switzerland and Italy and in their monasteries on the Alps and Apennines. That these holy men knew Latin and some also Greek goes without saying and that they acquired and preached in the dialects of the barbarians in whose midst they labored is certain, but Irish, not German, was the tongue in which they prayed for divine assistance, Irish, not Italian, the tongue in which they administered the rule of their establishments, Irish, not Latin, the books they brought with them from Ireland, and Irish were their thoughts as the grey eye looked back over the shoulder to the haunts of their youth in Erin. Ireland's schools were the schools of Europe as, later, Paris was the University of the world. As each nation had its peculiar commodity to offer in trade so Ireland proffered learning. Students from Britain and the Continent were enrolled in the schools of Bangor, Lismore, and Durrow where, simply in return for willingness and ability on their own part, they were furnished with food and lodging and learning, for the mere asking. In these schools the medium of instruction was Irish which, at that time, was as much the academic tongue of the West of the world as was, in later days, French the tongue of polite intercourse in Europe.

Those were the halcyon days of the Irish language. It next withstood the inroads of the Danes although their language could not fail to have made some impression on the Irish. Then the era of Norman Conquest passed, leaving it unharmed.

In fact, such was the assimilative power of the Irish language that, up to the time of the "Protector," the foreigners who had come over to Ireland adopted Irish speech, assumed Irish names, Irish manners and customs and, Saxon or Norman, became as Irish, if not more so, than the very natives of the country.

The first indication of a decline in the fortunes of the Irish language is to be noted about the time of Cromwell as a result of the "plantations," the penal laws and other measures of the great English persecution, and from that time the Irish people have been so busily occupied with the struggle for their very existence, that the fate of their language passed almost unnoticed. Under the blight of the penal code, by which the Irish were forced to choose whether they would become English in speech, thought, religion and everything else or be deprived of all opportunities of education, the active use of Irish as a vehicle of literary expression ceased. The writings and compilations of Doctor Geoffrey Keating and the Four Masters of Ireland represent the swan-song of Irish as a literary language. Among the masses the vernacular lived on almost unimpaired; at first, the English replaced it but to a slight extent and that only within the Pale. The people remained Irish and consequently ignorant, since education was to be obtained only through the medium of English. In the face of ineffectual ordinances, by which a speaker of Irish was fined from 3s. 6d. if a peasant, to 6£ if a lord, probably no more than one per cent. of the Irish people had become English in language in the century from 1600 to 1700. But from that time on, after having opposed a marvellous resistance to persecution, the decline of the Irish as a spoken language has proceeded faster and faster. The causes are not far to seek. The first and foremost must be laid at the door of the so called "National School" system devised by Archbishop Whately and Lord Derby avowedly as the means of assassinating the language which they rightly perceived was the most evident sign of Irish nationality. It was a device by which the native tongue was tabooed. It might not be used in official life nor in the schools nor wherever the "Gar-rison" gave the watchword. It was a system in principle as vicious and reprehensible as the one under which the Irish had

been persecuted for their religion and it is a wonder and a pity that its revocation was not fought for with the same energy and doggedness with which the Irish had fought for "Emanicipation."

Some of my readers may not have heard of the vile methods that were invented to repress Irish feeling and to crush the souls of the Irish children who were the principal victims. The "tally" was a billet hanging from a cord around the schoolboy's neck and for every Irish word the child spoke at home a notch was made in the stick and the schoolmaster meted out the *pro rata* punishment the next morning. It is only within the present generation that this unnational system has been lopped of its most hateful branches; it is not so long ago that this rule of the "tally" was in force and there are, in fact, Irishmen still living who can describe it from bitter experience. It is curious to observe how the narrow-minded oppressors of the native tongue in Brittany hit upon a similar means to stifle the people's speech. Not many years ago in the schools of Brittany, where the same blind infatuation for the dominant speech and the same disdain for the native tongue were, and are still, found as in Ireland, a *sabot* was given, at the opening of the class, to one of the boys who was to pass it over to the first of his comrades caught speaking Breton and he, in turn, was to keep it until he had caught another *flagrante delicto*. And thus the *sabot* passed from hand to hand, from group to group, like a spy trapping the unwary into speaking a word of the proscribed tongue. At the stroke of the bell the boys fell into line and the schoolmaster asked in a severe tone, "Who has the wooden shoe?" The poor culprit was brought in, his schoolmates hooted at him and, as the *sabot* was made and called the "*symbole*" of the old tongue of his fathers so the punishment for its use was equally symbolic, namely to clean the closets.

Now it is easy to see what were the consequences of such a system and how far its promoters succeeded in their purpose. Take the little child born in Ireland of Irish speaking parents. Everything had made him ready to speak. But, at school, knowing no English and the master knowing no Irish, he sat listless and vacant on his bench, the English words called up

no pictures to his mind; he did not open his mouth, and was put down as stupid. At home he was equally condemned to silence, moroseness and sullenness. His father and mother could speak no English and he might speak Irish only with the certainty of a flogging the next day. Parents and guardians were misguided abettors in thus dishonoring and rooting out the ancestral tongue, for they had been led to believe that the only ray of hope for an iota of success in life for their children was to have them brought up to speak English and to utterly obliterate the Irish. The result was that no impression sank deeper in the child's mind than that it was a shame and a disgrace to speak like his father, his mother and his countrymen and he left school stultified, with his intelligence sterilized and, at most, with a mere jargon of a language as the fruit of his years' schooling.

The banning of Irish from the schools of Ireland was one of the greatest causes for the woeful decline of the language. Then followed the series of famines and the exodus of emigrants. With all these agencies arrayed against it the Irish language had but slender chances of existence. If we consider that at the beginning of the 19th century there was probably not a man, woman or child of Irish race in Ireland who could not speak or understand Irish and that their number has dwindled today to about 700,000, or, roughly speaking, one sixth of the entire population, it will perhaps not be too much to say that probably no parallel could be found of such a wholesale, rapid and almost complete blotting out of a language within the limits of a half century.

Such was the condition of the Irish language thirty years ago. Bruised, beaten and battered, it was driven for refuge to the fringe of western coast,

" . . . where amid the Connaught wilds and hills of Donegal,
And by the shores of Munster, like the broad Atlantic blast,
The olden language lingers yet and binds us with the past."

Some thought they heard the banshee's dismal wail presaging the not distant end of the Irish tongue and already philologists were preparing to chronicle the death of the last Irish-speaking woman, as they had already immortalized Dame

Dolly Pentreath, who is said, though erroneously, to have been the last that spoke the Cornish. During the early decades of the century lived Irish scholars, some of them the peers of any Ireland has ever seen, but it is plain that they labored over the Irish manuscripts as if they were in any dead language. There were learned archæological and other antiquarian societies, and these, too, did excellent work in their special fields, but all were possessed with the foregone conclusion that Irish was extinct and no longer to be reckoned with as a living force. In the middle of the '70's, it is true, some attempts were made to reintroduce the study of the spoken language and to retard its final disappearance but only in a hesitating, apologetic way and nothing came of it. In '77 the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded and still exists. It published some easy books and texts for the study of the language but was not remarkably active. In 1880 the Gaelic Union was formed with the same object in view, viz: the awakening of an interest in the language. Two years later the "*Gaelic Journal*" was started to spread these teachings, and, in the next year, 1893, the Gaelic League came into existence. To tell all it has accomplished through its band of earnest workers in the dozen years of its existence would be beyond the limits of the present paper but will be referred to briefly farther on. Suffice it here to say that, chiefly owing to its active propaganda and the resulting awakened conscience of the best of the Irish people, the question of the vitality of the native tongue has passed into a quite different phase. The tongue which was thought to be dying, at last, with all its fire, with all its wild energy, speaks out the noble aspirations of a people who are unwilling to forget their past and who, having a destiny to fulfill, are unwilling to disappear. While cruel schemes were devised at home and abroad to destroy the living speech, its archaic forms were cultivated in silence by French, German and Italian *savants*, and it was doubtless greatly owing to the interest displayed in the Irish language by Continental scholars that the Irish themselves were led to turn their attention to their glorious heritage, and wealth was revealed to them which they had not suspected they possessed.

From the studies and closets of scholars the language has

filtered down among the people, bringing them joy and hope, large thoughts and remembrances of a glorious past. It is no longer a thing to hide, to whisper, to be ashamed of and those who but yesterday blushed to speak it will be found its champions tomorrow. Irish is still the living speech of as many people as speak half a dozen of the modern languages of Europe and if Irishmen would resist with as much stubbornness the invasion of the language of the English as they formerly resisted the progress of their arms they might assure themselves of the conservation of their tongue. Its past, with its resistance against the Latin, Danish, Norman and Saxon, answers for its ability to continue in the future and bears out the saying of Thierry that 'there is a principle of persistence in the language of the Celtic peoples which seems to mock the efforts of time and man.'

But, even with this prodigious obstinacy and longevity in its favor, it is of vital importance at this critical stage of its existence that the Irish language be furthered in practice and given as full a life as possible, for with a language as with a plant or any other living thing merely to remain stationary and not to advance is to retrograde to the advantage of competitors. Nor is it enough that a local idiom find its only support in the people. There it can, to be sure, drag along far longer than one might expect, but if they have not the co-operation of the middle and higher classes, of those in more prominent walks of life and if, above all, it is neglected by the clergy it is irremediably doomed sooner or later to disappearance.

II. THE EXCELLENCIES OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGE.

We have seen that the sources of the Irish language are hidden in the earliest ages of the world, that it belongs to the great Indo-European group of languages and that, in the Celtic family, it is sister of the Scotch-Gaelic or Erse and the Manx, and cousin-german of the Welsh and the Breton and the Cornish, now extinct. It is, besides, not only the oldest member of the family, that is the one that has left earlier and more abundant traces of its existence than the others, but it is even the oldest language still spoken in the West of Europe, having

been in unbroken use for upwards of two thousand years. With the help of the results reached by Celtists since the days of Zeuss one could show that the Irish is as unmixed as any of the other languages now remaining in Europe and one could reconstruct a large part of its grammar and vocabulary at a time when the now flourishing and beautiful Romance languages had not yet emerged from the Popular Latin and when the English and other Germanic languages were only dialects of roving tribes. From these data one could draw up a synoptic table of the phonetic and inflectional laws and all the wonderful richness and regularity of Celtic forms, some without analogies elsewhere. One could trace them from the oldest remains down the centuries to the actual, spoken language or follow the Celtic in its divergent development into the idioms of Ireland, Scotland and Man on the one hand, and the idioms of Wales, Cornwall and Brittany on the other, until they separated so far as to be now mutually unintelligible while still preserving the common word-fund and the essential laws of the common family. Of all the insular Celtic languages it was particularly the Gaelic that escaped the powerful and destructive influence of the Roman domination and for this reason it is of especial value for the unreflected light it throws on those conditions of European life unrecorded by Roman writers or unknown to us from native sources.

The Irish language and its literature is the predominant glory of the Irish race; none can adduce more reputable or better authenticated patents of nobility; none, but the Greek, of all the languages now spoken in Europe, presents a greater wealth of literary monuments of such antiquity. The language, more than anything else, is that work of the race in the making of which all, the millions of the obscure as well as the illustrious, have taken part. It is that reflection of the nature of the Irish people, the language that symbolizes human thought reflected through the prism of the Irish mind, the book, living and never finished, in which are recorded the thoughts and emotions of the race. It is the most permanent heirloom that an Irishman possesses, the voice that will ever be heard in his patronymic, in the names of the furze grown hills, the mist-blown crags, the dark, deep glens, the silvery rivers of *Erin*

and the fairy folk that people them. Memories of heroism and suffering will wrap themselves in its folds and in it the fairy women will entice mortal men to far away *Tír na n-Óg*, 'the Land of the ever Young.'

It has been objected to the use of the Irish language for a modern speech that it is deficient and behindhand in many of the terms peculiar to modern life and relating to the sciences, arts and commerce. This is in part true owing to its repression for so long a time; but it possesses the elements of a language adequate in every respect to serve as medium for all the requirements of the day. All that is needed is its cultivation and practice and it will be found, when the need arises for Irish vocables to designate inventions and discoveries or for other emergencies, that the Irish language has a power of compounding and creating the needful terminology equal to that of any of the foremost tongues of to-day. Another objection that has been adduced to the everyday use of Irish is that its dialects will be a stumbling block to the spread of the language in more general use. But the difficulty here is no greater than in the case of any language soever. There are four main dialects with multitudinous sub-dialects merging imperceptibly one into the other as one finds everywhere. Of these dialects, the two most separated in nature as in space are those of Ulster and of Munster, the former differing only slightly from the Irish spoken across the Channel in Scotland. The dialectic peculiarities are chiefly in the matter of accent in which respect the Munster variety differs most from its neighbors; at most, they are not sufficient to cause such a divergence as exists, *e. g.*, between some of the southern Italian dialects and those of the North or between the Vannetais and the other Breton dialects, while the varieties in grammatical forms and vocabulary are no greater than are to be expected and no more numerous than are to be found in other modern languages. In the written and printed language there has always been an approximation to a standard, fortunately not too rigid, but the first thing that will perplex the beginner in Modern-Irish is the unsettled orthography. It is only with the growth of an influential school of Irish-writing *littérateurs* and a widely circulating vernacular press and perhaps, as a last resort, by the

formation of an academy to discuss and decide such questions, that a literary standard will arise for all Ireland. It would be very much to be regretted, however, if this should be at the cost of the disappearance of the local dialects. There is such an unplumbed wealth of material in those neglected, out of the way idioms for the linguist and for the student of popular literature that, before it be too late, they should be painstakingly studied and recorded and their folklore saved from perdition.

The Irish language possesses an extraordinary copiousness of vocabulary of native words expressing delicate shades of meaning. Because of its old-world connections and the fact that it has been the vernacular in the country for ages and has grown with the passions of the people, almost uncontaminated by foreign influences, it is above all characterized by force, directness, precision; it possesses wonderful melody and wealth of phonetic variety, some types quite unknown in any other European language, and admirable adaptability to metrical and musical forms; it is marvellously rich and subtle in idiom and in figurative expressions and graceful in syntax. Let us add to these qualities that it has, as it were, just awakened from a long, deep, sleep, fresh and unspoiled by triteness, commonness and meanness.

Even the novice in the study of Irish is inevitably struck by the unsurpassed power of the language to express the tender, homely affections and the racial virtues of sincerity, trust and faith; it is the passionate language of love and pathos, the gay language of wit and humor. The native language is not only the mirror in which the national genius is reflected but also the source in which it will seek its never-failing nourishment and inspiration. It is the poor-man's treasure-box in which are enshrined his popular philosophy, his folklore, history and music. It makes him think of that corner of the earth where his ancestors were born, of the cradle songs with which they were rocked to sleep, of boyhood days at school and in the field, of brothers, sisters, father and mother and the tales and songs with which they charmed their leisure and calmed their unrest.

"In it we sing our lays of love,
In it we croon our sorrow,

And when the night is dark above,
 'Twill cheer us till to-morrow,
In the old tongue alone we know
 The way to seek salvation;
It made a nation long ago
 And keeps it still a nation."

III. IRISH CHARACTER AND THE GAELIC LANGUAGE.

Still another plea has been urged in favor of the cultivation of the native Irish language and on other than material grounds, namely, its value in the preservation and development of Irish character.

Ireland, of old, was renowned for her hospitality, courtesy, piety and respect for learning. Ever on the side of truth and honor, even when worsted in battle and in the bitterest moments of her history she was borne up by an unshakable belief in herself and confidence in her destiny. She won the respect and admiration of the world. As a Celtic nation she was the idealist among nations. Whatever was exalted, noble, true or grand appealed to her and found in her a champion. Her unworldliness, faith in holiness and attachment to the spiritual world need not be enlarged upon here, nor would it be a pleasant task to point out how the Irish in their efforts to forget themselves are in danger of losing these qualities and the respect for them. It will not be to Ireland's credit to despoil herself of her own character and to present nothing but what is common to other peoples as well as to herself. Her greatest privilege will be to enrich to the utmost of her power the common fund of humanity by adding to it those qualities—her *Eigenart* in fact—which she alone possesses.

What panacea can there be for the threatened deterioration of Irish character? What will save Ireland from the ditch of materialism, scepticism and irreligion into which foreign ideals have been leading her? The revival of the native language, it is argued, will, more than anything else, accomplish this for it will bring into vogue the simple, old-world virtues. We cannot doubt that between the nature of this tongue and the disposition of the Irish intelligence there is a mysterious pre-established harmony. The simplest lisp, the most rudimentary

affection when expressed in the native tongue expresses a world of meaning impossible to convey in any other. This language has been fashioned by the habits of mind and the *tournares* of the imagination of the race to whom it belongs and, better than any other, it will enable Irishmen to see, to think, to understand themselves, to understand their own nature, in fact, which is in a degree latent through want of the natural, the correlated vehicle of thought and emotion.

It may be worth while, as pertinent to the subject under consideration, to translate from *Le Temps* for March 30, 1898, a report of an address, remarkable because of its source, by the leader of the German socialists, Herr Bebel: "The particular nature of a people is incarnate in its language; it is by this that it is distinguished from other peoples; it is by this that it expresses its sentiments and its needs in that form which is the only true one. To constrain a people to express its sentiments and its needs in a language which is foreign to it, is equivalent to mutilating its most inward being. No doubt it is no mistake for a population to be made to learn the language of another civilized people with whom it is in contact, but this should never be at the expense of the mother-tongue. . . ."

IV. IRISH NATIONALITY AND GAELIC.

If it is important to preserve the spirit that is peculiar to each people and which is called its national genius, its *Eigenart*, it must consequently be important to maintain the language and the customs of the country which are its safeguard and the symbol of the country's nationhood. The value of the inherited language in the formation of the nation cannot be overestimated. It is much to be regretted that still so few realize these undeniable facts: that the political independence of Ireland is impossible or, at any rate, valueless without her intellectual regeneration; that a nation can subsist only so long as it has a language of its own; that if the Irish language dies, the Irish nation dies with it, and, contrariwise, with the growth of the Irish language, Irish nationality and Irish culture, in its widest sense, will flourish and will be followed eventually by independence.

It is a vulgar sophism that it would be well to hasten the day

when English would be understood and spoken by all. This may be very well from the point of view of those who speak it as their own. It is equally unreasonable to object that, if the Irish language succumbs to the English in the struggle for existence, it will be but an instance of the working of the law of the survival of the fittest. Such a law is unknown in the interaction of languages; the predominance of one language or dialect over another language or dialect depends simply on the physical or intellectual superiority of its speakers; for instance, mere political circumstances brought it about that the Continental Celtic, or Gaulish, yielded to the Latin though it is quite possible, if the two languages were to be judged *per se*, on grounds of strength, power and delicacy, that the former would have deserved to survive rather than the latter. No language, then, however perfect or universal it might be, would replace the Irish language *for the Irish people*; no other would render the Irish spirit and instincts or in any way deserve to be called the "National" language.

The truest indication of the survival of a national sentiment amongst a people who are in conflict with a stronger political power is the preservation of their native tongue; so long as they possess that, though conquered, they are not assimilated. The native language and native literature are alone sufficient to mark off the Irish people with a distinct history and a distinct civilization; they constitute their "title-deed in the court of nations," their charter to stand before the world as a political entity.

V. THE GAELIC LEAGUE.

Ireland has now, for some time, entered upon the third stage of her struggle for nationality. She first tried to win her independence by force of arms, then by parliamentary agitation and constitutional diplomacy. She now strives to resuscitate the dying idea of nationality in its last citadel, the native language. It seems that the present generation should be alive to the seriousness of the question it is called on to decide: whether the Irish language, after having been spoken for two thousand years and upwards amid the hills of Ireland and which the great crises of humanity have touched but left unharmed, is finally to pass out of use, to be utterly annihilated,

never again to be whispered on the face of God's earth and leaving no trace of its existence but to be pored over in old books and manuscripts, like the round towers and Ogam stones a memorial of antiquity and one of the most interesting varieties of a once almost universal European language or, whether, on the other hand, it is to be succored and defended with all the might and energy of the Irish from sea to sea and made their language for ages to come.

The full significance of the movement for the accomplishment of this devoutly to be wished end is only faintly understood in the outside world. The campaign for the de-anglicization of Ireland is in the hands of the Gaelic League. The room in No. 9 Lower O'Connell Street, Dublin, where, in July, 1893, the "League" was organized, almost in Ireland's eleventh hour, is ever to be commemorated as the cradle of the New Ireland. Never did a band of young men and patriots come together with a clearer view or with greater enthusiasm to put it into operation. They laid their emphasis on the national language as the palladium of nationality, and, as the degeneration of Ireland began with the abandonment of the old tongue, so its regeneration must begin with its revival. They saw that with proper organization and action it might be possible to rouse the Irish people from their lethargy and to bring back the native speech to their ken from the remote fastnesses in the West and South where it had taken refuge. They accordingly announced their program to be "The preservation of Irish as the national language of Ireland and its extension as a spoken tongue; the publication of existing Gaelic literature and the cultivation of a modern literature in Irish." They wisely left the purely literary and academic questions to the already existing societies for those objects in view. For half the short number of years that mark the life of the Gaelic League the workers toiled slowly and painfully and attracted little notice. Nothing was lacking to its beginnings, the apathy of their countrymen, the disdain of the press, and even the scoffers who must accompany every good work. During the latter half-dozen years of its existence its progress has been astonishingly rapid. First and above all the strength of the "League" has been centered on the upkeeping of Irish as the

language of the hearth and home, the field and farm, in those districts where it is still the vernacular; then, from these centers, to carry it to the borders where it is now hovering between life and death. One means to this end are the genuine Irish schools, the establishment of which it has fought for in those vernacular territories. It may be news to some to learn that thousands of books and pamphlets entirely in Gaelic and in Gaelic type and on a wide range of subjects are now published annually; that, exclusive of religious books, more books are now published in Dublin in Irish than in English. A new literature in Irish has been created and the classics and the almost forgotten poets, Eoghan Ruadh, Raftery, MacDonnell, Ferriter, O'Donoghue, Tadhg Gaedhealach, have risen from oblivion and taken their place at the Irish fireside. The "League" has two organs published regularly, the "*Isleabhar na Gaedhilge*" ("The Gaelic Journal") monthly, and the "*Claidheamh Soluis*" ("The Sword of Light") weekly, and many papers in Ireland and America print columns in Irish. It appoints and pays organizers to stump the contested districts and to win over the local school and ecclesiastical authorities to a favorable attitude toward the vernacular in their bailiwicks. Under its auspices lectures on Irish antiquities, history, art and literature are given. A national drama in the national tongue has made its *début* with a répertoire at present of some score of plays. To it is due the remarkable industrial revival in the Island. It organizes *feiseanna*, festivals of native music, poetry and song, storytelling, games and dances in every Irish village in Ireland, which afford an opportunity and outlet to the local talent and offer prizes for its best efforts; these festivals reach their culmination in the *Oireachtas*, the annual assembly in Dublin, corresponding to the Welsh *Eisteddfod*.

It is one of the anomalies in the history of this movement that the leadership has fallen more than once upon shoulders where it might be least expected to find support. The path of the Gaelic League in Ireland was blazed by the success of the Irish Literary Society of London; one of the most munificent benefactors and most active workers in the Dublin Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was the Rev. Euseby

Cleaver, an Anglican clergyman in Wales; the vice-president of the Gaelic League from its beginning until his lamented death was the Rev. Eugene O'Growney, the beloved *Athair Eoghan*, who was as truly the apostle of Gaelic Ireland as Father Mathew was the apostle of temperance. He came from a non-Gaelic speaking district, neither of his parents spoke Irish and he himself was not aware of the existence of a native language of Ireland until he was a student at college where he had to learn Irish like a foreigner. At present the recognized leader of the Gaelic movement is Dr. Douglas Hyde who was one of the founders of the "League." He was born in County Sligo some forty-five odd years ago the son of the Protestant vicar; he was an unusually brilliant student at Trinity College, Dublin, where, despite the anti-Irish atmosphere prevailing at "the silent sister," like Ferdiad, the Fírbolg, he

"Drank the strength of dreams,
Picturing his race's wrong; and trumpet blasts
Went over him, blown from fields of ancient wars;
And straightway from his heart to arm and hand
Rushed up the strength of all that buried race
By him so loved."

Scholar, poet, folklorist, playwright and vigilant organizer, "*An Craoibhin Aoibhinn*," "The fair little branch," the name by which Douglas Hyde is equally well known in Ireland, now occupies the largest place in the Gaelic movement, something like that of Mistral among the *Félibres* of Provence. He has been fortunate as a collector of Irish lyrics of great freshness and charm and indefatigable in catching from the lips of their last guardians folk-tales which he has treated with scholarship and accuracy. His original verse in Gaelic and English is tender, simple and touching like their themes, nature and peasant life. He is particularly happy in rendering into English the raciness and exact metrical schemes of the Irish original with its intricate rimes and peculiarities of alliteration.

The task before the Gaelic League is one of peculiar nobility and difficulty. It has not yet reached the fulness of its strength and extent and, if it succeeds, it will mean a surprising revelation to the world of the qualities of the Irish race. Yet,

however admirable, however great may be the results already accomplished, thanks to the ardor and intelligence of the leaders, and the active propagandism, the enthusiasm and co-operation of the people; however many Irish hearts may respond to their appeal, it is only too evident that their individual and even their organized efforts are insufficient to check the rising stream of English which threatens to carry away their language, their customs and all that which has made their character distinctive and their life apart among the nations.

If the death of her national aspirations which still threatens Ireland is the dread of all friends of justice and liberty, it goes without saying that such a prospect can be accepted by no Irishman who has preserved a spark of patriotism. The cause of the Irish language is one that ought to appeal to all who ponder upon Irish problems. It is their duty to transmit the patrimony to the future, to hand on the torch, and if the Irish language lives, so shall also the nation live, as the Irish say, *go bruinne an bhratha* ("till the day of doom").

JOSEPH DUNN.

PROTESTANTISM AND AUTHORITY.¹

It is indeed refreshing in these days of unfettered thinking to read this series of studies on the nature, necessity, and function of authority in matters of religion. We have had a surfeit of books on "free" thought; one on "free" authority—however ill-mated this adjective and noun may at first sight appear to be—is unexpectedly welcome; in the words of a homely saying, "it is a cure for sore eyes" to see it. It is a remarkably clear and forceful presentation of the subject by one who is not temperamentally predisposed to his own conclusions, but has lent a willing ear to the muse of history and accepted the results. Exception must be taken to much that the author says, and says pointedly, oftentimes with a war-like vocabulary not pleasing to the pious ears of Catholics. The vigorous bound which his central thought compels him to make causes him at times to "clear his mount" and to land rather hard on the opposite side, hard, that is, for those who happen to furnish, in his estimation at least, so convenient a place of landing. But this is another story. The business of a reviewer is a writer's thought rather than his actions; what he has to say rather than the fine ethical points that govern the saying of it.

The fundamental object of the volume is "to maintain the reasonableness of a man of modern culture frankly and earnestly worshiping in some form of 'authoritative religion'; in any form rather than in no form." We have read so much of late on "the religion of a gentleman," "the religion of a scientific man," and "the religion of the future," that we see a good antidote in the volume before us for those who think that the kingdom of God is wholly within, and seek to lead a churchless life on the warrant of this much overworked and mistranslated text. "Man is by nature an institutional being, a Churchman, and ecclesiasticism is a genuine manifestation

¹"The Freedom of Authority." *Essays in Apologetics*. By J. Macbride Sterrett, D.D., The Head Professor of Philosophy in the George Washington University. New York, Macmillan, 1905. Pp. 319.

of human nature." One might amend Aristotle so far as to say that man is an "ecclesiastical" animal.

The fault of the day is the deification of the individual, his isolation from history, his insulation from the great stream of racial life. Ishmaelites there be who "heed the call of the wild against the call of the tame"; who see in the human self a being cut off from all continuity with his kind; who would have us one and all go back to nature and the freedom of the woodland, as if we were born into no environment, and succeeded to no heritage of answered questions and established institutions. Such a view of the human individual is abstract, unhistorical, and anti-social, a survival of the vaunted "Age of Reason" which knew no history and would therefore be done forever with states, and churches, and systems. These were the days of armchair critics who, with their feet on the fender, could rearrange the map of Europe and turn back the course of history at a sitting by merely analyzing the current notions of mankind. They did not know that ideas and institutions have a history, and that "the march of ideas," of which Napoleon spoke, would not break ranks even for the Grand Army.

The scientific conception of the individual to-day is that of an organic member of an organic system to which he must conform to be rational. Conformity and authority are thus correlatives, and the latter may be defined as "the power or influence through which one does, or believes, what he would not of his unaided powers." Collective reason, beliefs, and customs are the medium through which we receive authority, the function of which is to develop the individual, to put into him the racial wisdom and to saturate him with the "ethos" of his kind. The old static conception of individuality must be corrected and the social content of the individual noted and emphasized. Each of us is moralized by the "prejudices" of his school, church, set, fraternity, learned society, political party, and social organization, all of which have quasi-parental authorities, in conscious or unconscious submission to which I am becoming a more cultured man. All these lay their authoritative commands on me; all limit my capricious subjective whims of impulse. In all these I see duties and recognize rights. In these duties I find my freedom, i. e., self-realiza-

tion; and these duties are objective, not begotten of my caprice, and not foreign.

What room is there for freedom in all this conventional morality, in this organic conception of the individual? The very question almost suggests mechanical determinism for answer, but Professor Sterrett will deal mortal blows to the mechanical theory of the world and morality later on. Freedom consists in playing one's own part. Authority, conformity, and function are organic elements of freedom when the latter is understood in the concrete. The subjective elements of personal conviction and self-determination are elements in concrete freedom. Choice means that man has the power; to choose rationally one must be good; and one becomes good by choosing that which pleases the moral societies of which he is a member, i. e., by conforming to authorities not evolved out of his inner consciousness. There is no freedom in choosing to act like the devil. It is this shallow conception of doing as one pleases in order to be free that is the lingering heritage and heresy of eighteenth century rationalism.

On the other hand, there is no absolutely autonomous or self-lawgiving man, except in the sense of imposing upon himself laws which are not of his making, though seen to be laws in conformity with which alone he can realize his essential nature. The autonomous man of Kant, begetting from within the forms that make his freedom concrete and objective, is an abstract, unhistorical individual. It is in others man finds the laws to which he conforms—the typical laws of his kind—and ultimately in God the great Companion and Educator of mankind, by means of social moral institutions. The only way to real freedom is conformity of the empirical selves in me to an ideal self which is a social self; letting the empirical ego of the moment be the man is sham freedom. A formed state of the will is necessary. There is always morality and there is always authority, and there is no morality without the element of compulsion, not indeed physical and mechanical, but purposive.

This conventional morality of conforming to the prescriptions of one's set is transcended and overcome when we reach the standpoint that "everybody is God's child." The differ-

ence between what we are and what we ought to be constitutes a breach which mere morality—good will, or duty for duty's sake—can never heal. Even if it could, it would not be a full realization of man who has needs, capacities, tastes, desires, beyond the sphere of morality as such. The fitful ideals furnished by morality need a perfectly realized form of the good, and this form is furnished by the religious consciousness that God is perfect and God is real, and his service perfect freedom. Religion thus enters to transform and fulfill morality; not the religion of vague sentiment, but the specific act of worship which alone realizes our religious ideal, and is its source, centre, and sustenance. "The Church that does not make much of worship does not make men very religious, and is sure to degenerate into mere ethics or some form of ecclesiastical quackery."

It would hardly be in place here to discuss the value of the social theory of morality which Professor Sterrett states so cogently; we are more interested in what he is to build on this foundation. The presupposition with which he works is reason employed in a concrete sense as including and fulfilling both abstractions of intellectualism and practicalism. This concrete reason in mankind is, to use his own words, the progressive utterance of the universal concrete reason in the dialects of various peoples and ages. It is a vital organic universal on which he builds rather than on a number of abstract particulars. He has no patience to exercise on the compartment theories of the human mind with their separate chambers for intelligence, will, feeling, and, should we not add a new one out of reverence for the *Welt-Geist*, of commerce?

His method is transcendental; his thought moves from within outward, upward, and onward, and will not satisfy the lovers of "proofs," "reasons of fitness," and "syllogistic bat-talions." He is not a relativist by any means; he merely approaches old truths by less trodden paths, and tries to contribute his substantial mite to the new apologetic which has made its need felt even in Catholic quarters, especially in the French school of Blondel, Laberthonnière, Fonsègrive, not to mention the entire cloud of witnesses. The influence of Hegel on his chosen method is clear, but his conclusions are vigorously car-

ried far beyond those of the master. Let the reader grasp his appeal to "reason in a corporate process," and he will see that the individual is not wholly submerged in the race, or his personality unduly discounted. Many men do not think things out for themselves; and it is not for such as these that the author writes, but for the cultured. The continuity of the individual with the race is insisted upon only to accentuate his personal acceptance of what history has worked out for him. This idea of voluntary, personal acceptance need not affright us. The terrific onslaught made by scepticism on established belief, especially institutional, has compelled religious thinkers to investigate the moral side of faith more carefully and to rest discontent with the sufficiency of abstract reasonings alone. It is merely a piece of Napoleonic strategy—throwing in the Old Guard where the line of battle was thin; with what success remains to be seen.

It will be recalled that the Council of the Vatican insisted on the external signs of revelation and refused to determine what part education and history played in our knowledge of God. Its solemn vindication of the power of reason, unaided, to know the Source and End of all reality was expressed in an objective, impersonal way, and the historical process which man's knowing has undergone was not considered by the Council, except in so far as Traditionalism was concerned, which it condemned together with the prevailing Subjectivism. Professor Sterrett falls back upon history for his main support, and does not make of it, as so many of our manuals do, a sort of addendum to the work of pure reason; rather is it with him the public referendum decisive of all questions. He pools all issues together in one great, sweeping, historical view. The result is that everything comes out the peer of everything else, and Church and State are equally of divine origin.

Is it fair to enclose ourselves in this large circle without the privilege of drawing a diameter, or at least a few special radii? He dismisses infallibility and leaves only an approximation to the truth that is "ever more and more," according as we approach that one far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves. The method which he pursues compels him to take this view. And yet, it strikes the reviewer that a

very profitable distinction might here have been drawn, with no violence to the method employed, the distinction, namely, between faith and knowledge. The psychological effect of his method is stronger on some of his conclusions than a more articulated, less sweeping view of history would lead to. In other words, his method is more hospitable than he conceives it, and at times proves too strong a preconception even for him to withstand.

It is quite true that the whole swing of the pendulum to-day is toward the social point of view, and that the abstract individual no longer haunts us with his grim and gaunt features. Yet all thought of "externals" need not be so abhorrent to Professor Sterrett. May we not work our way up through morality, corporate reason, if you will, and the stream of history to find at the close that we have only reached from the inside what our forbears established from without? Whether thought moves from centre to circumference, or the reverse, it impinges on something not itself, and in so far forth external to it. But we must not press a refinement. Let us turn back from these scattered appreciations to the main line of the author's thought. Protestantism is not to be identified with the Age of Reason, it is authoritative, and its principles are not subjective and negative. It is not a "paper-pope" substituted for one of flesh and blood. Free-thinking is an incident of Protestantism, not the essence of it, which is personal conviction rather than private judgment. Its original protest against the abuses and corruptions of the Church and against the Diet of Spires which refused to reform these abuses, is still in force, historically speaking; otherwise there is no reason against reunion with Rome.

This conception of Protestantism as a religion of authority places it upon a level with Catholicity, apparently, and allows the author later on to suggest an amalgamation of the two in his "vision splendid" of reunion. We might remark here in passing, with no intention of sacrificing truth to smartness, or of appearing personal, that this theory of reunion proposed by the author might fairly be called the "visionary theory," so far removed is it from actuality. It is very doubtful if Protestantism would recognize itself in the description which the au-

thor sets such store by. On the other hand, the vital, organic conception of authority which Catholicity must profess can never be exchanged for such a lifeless abstraction as a Parliament of Religions which the author would propose as a sort of perennial *modus vivendi*. It is one thing to go to the Hague, and another to have Rome go there. Has not our author painted Protestantism with a large brush and drawn its portrait with a free hand when he describes it as authoritative, thereby hiding in a phrase its lack of cohesion and of the inner spirit of organization?

Protestantism and Catholicity cannot be contrasted as personal versus corporate Christianity. Our author is too keen of sight to fall into this well-worn, convenient, yet false antithesis, which ought after so many years of service to be allowed to rest in peace on the back shelves of some museum. It would seem, however, that the best gift which Protestantism could bring to the proposed international conference, is, in the author's mind, the intense personal quality which characterizes it as a religion. No one will deny, and the author plainly asserts, that the personal element is strong in Catholicity; nor will any one who has studied the history of religion fail to see that the personal side of Catholicity needs more accentuation than it sometimes receives.

Yet the fact of the matter is that Christianity has had from the very beginning a distinctive life of its own—as distinct from that of the world at large now as it was when the infant Church lay cradled in the capital of the pagan empire of Rome. This unworldliness of Catholicity, its slowness to accept secular results until fully worked out, its insistence on living its own life unhindered, has allowed it to retain its own identity and to resist absorption. Can the same be said of Protestantism? A more personal religion is a consummation devoutly to be wished on all sides, but for the Catholic the intensity of his personal religious life must come from within the Church of his fathers and not from a process of secularization, or amalgamation.

Professor Sterrett is plain spoken with regard to the necessity of a visible, organized Church. "Vital, progressive, missionary, and educating Christianity always has had and

always must have a body." "History shows no equal to the vitality and efficiency of Roman Catholicism." "Total distrust of ecclesiastical Christianity is pathological." "Those who hate Christianity and would fain have it perish could ask for no more speedy form for its destruction than the destruction of its body." "The staunch Churchman occupies the normal rational standpoint." "Man is by nature a Churchman." "Ecclesiasticism is a genuine interpretation of human nature." "The rational ideal to-day seems to be that of a critical ecclesiasticism, that is, of a visible working church, fully recognizing the results of the modern criticism of its own historical elements, and yet basing itself upon these criticized elements as answering to human nature and needs on their religious side." He says, however, that he is very far from identifying the truth of ecclesiasticism with all truth, or of giving it an undue supremacy. He distinguishes the Church from the Kingdom of God; the latter is the organic sum total of the developments of the human spirit in all phases of activity; the former is a term of less extent, and signifies a definite, visible organization, not identical with moral and spiritual goodness wherever found, though a very real and lively member of that total organization of the true, the good and the beautiful among men which we term the Kingdom of God.

His criticism of Harnack and Sabatier who try to shift the thought-centre of the Gospels from Christ and the Kingdom to a filial emotion felt by believers toward God the Father is a fine piece of work. The only objectivity he discovers in Harnack and Sabatier is the recognition that "in me lives one greater than me." Loisy he finds more objective far than Harnack, although Loisy is as over-insistent on the body of the Church as Harnack is on the soul—both of which when viewed separately are abstractions, mischievous half-truths. Harnack's attempt to extract the pure essence of Christianity is unpardonable in a professed historian; so is his attempt to exhibit the development of dogma as a continuous corruption and pollution of this well of evangelism undefiled. Our author has only a feeling of fine scorn for those who utter the "crab-cry," Back to the simplicity of the Synoptists. He says that an absolute return to the most primitive form of

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Christianity is a moral and historical impossibility. He puts his finger on the sore spot in Loisy's theory when he says that the development of the faith and the historical development do not seem to be clearly put in vital relation by the former professor of the Sorbonne. It is a case with him of casual parallelism rather than of organic interaction. The criticism of churchless Christianity goes straight to the mark in these trenchant chapters.

We wish that space permitted an outline of the author's wise reflections on the mechanical theory, the limits and functions of the historical method, and Aristotle's fourfold causality. They may be read with intellectual pleasure and moral profit by all who love to think themselves out of the imprisoning formulas of modern "scientific" philosophy. The notions of "potentiality" and "Actus Purus" are restored and made respectable; the superiority of Aristotle's theory of development is clearly set forth; and modern science and history are asked to drop positivism as a metaphysic while retaining it as a method. These bits of criticism are precious.

We are sorry that the author admits the refutations of the "lapse theory" in general. The theological conception of man's having originally been the recipient of special divine favors, lost subsequently through sin, has nothing whatever to do with the law of progress discovered in history; it is not bound up with the admission of a primitive civilization, and is not ruled out of court by the general abandonment of the theory of degradation. The Catholic theologian, at least, leaves primitive man normal and naturally intact after the Fall, letting science deal with him as to the subsequent course of his history. Here again it would seem that the author has allowed his general historical principle to decide a particular instance, hastily conceived as at variance with it.

The author's method throughout is from the relative to the self-related, absolute Personality. The universal throbs through the particulars. The Church is a kingdom of persons where all are kings because all are persons, and not an abstract external authority. The abstract conception of the authority of the Church as a ground of certitude he regards as the "infinite falsehood of mediæval ecclesiasticism." That's the worst kind

of falsehood we have ever heard of. And yet it seems that the reason why so extensive an adjective is applied in this instance was the bare, empty universal as understood by mediæval churchmen, who sought grounds instead of seeking *the* ground of certitude.

The Middle Ages, it is true, confined its philosophy largely to the objective and abstract side of reality. The subjective side was not investigated until practically our own days, and the end is not yet. Because, however, the author employs a method which combines the subjective and the objective in what might paradoxically be called a "concrete-general," hardly justifies so severe a condemnation. The social content of the individual, his baptism by immersion into the stream of history, formed little part of scholastic thought. The individual was Barebones then if you will. But in any event, the Schoolmen explored the objective side of authority from the received point of view, and knew next to nothing of the newer avenues of approach to the weather-beaten problems of philosophy which we follow to-day. St. Thomas, however, succeeded in uniting the stream of purpose in history with the stream of finality in Nature, to his credit be it said. We, like him, must reach the objective somehow; and because one conceives the individual to-day as the heir of the ages, or regards the basis of morality as social, is every previous point of view thereby invalidated, an "Ueberwundene Standpunkt"? Let the personal side of belief be investigated, and emphasized, if you will. The institutional side will have its place in the system when thought out, and it will be found that the Church is its own witness within and quite apart from the general stream of history. Are there no special divine springs to feed this stream along its course?

The author states his belief explicitly in the early œcumenical formulas. He suggests as a rule: to believe in all that is implied in the Incarnation. It is the Church, he says, that gives us our authentic record of the life of Christ. The ultimate ground of authority is not in abstract dogma. Christianity is more than thinking or feeling; it is also willing, and the will is the man. The Divine Immanence is the key to history. "The Romanist (sic) conceives of instituted Christianity

as a mechanical, unethical form of authority," instead of recognizing it as an ethical and historical process of the spirit immanent in Christian nations and communities. This saying is hard because not true, and we are surprised to see such an antithesis drawn. Surely we, too, are God's children capable of willing service; capable of personally working out for ourselves and freely accepting the faith of our fathers; capable also of seeing the conservative genius of the Church whose mission is not to lose itself in sudden readjustments to modern culture, or to let even the best-gifted of her sons force her, before ready, into paths that are beset with stumbling.

Catholicity is a life that is much more than dry intellectual assent, much more than an impersonal series of objective ideas strung together like the beads of a rosary and eternally imposed upon the faithful. Catholic thought can move from within outward, upward, and onward, too, and is doing so now pretty vigorously in the new school of Immanentists. Apologetics is always a relative science. Why should our author first make it static and mechanical, and then blow us all up with the dynamite of his progressive method? Is he still haunted by the "bloodless ballet" of abstractions in the old apologetic? Has Catholicity no life, no heart, no personality, in addition to "the heritage of answered questions" which it makes over to those of the household of faith?

This is truly a remarkable volume considering the "psychological climate" in which it was written. It is not sympathetic with Catholicity except in so far as the Roman Catholic idea of the Church fits into the author's view of universal history. It is a trumpet call to Protestantism to seek some form of authority and avoid dissolution, because the future of Christianity is with organized religion. It suggests no *via media*, but holds out an international "*tertium quid*" far beyond the point of possible concession for Catholicity, or of accession for Protestantism. The reviewer has already expressed his appreciation, and criticism, and might say much more if space permitted. Let us hope that this volume indicates the beginning of a reaction from that purely subjective type of religion which many find it so convenient to-day to profess, because they discover in it the sanctification of their own conceits and a sort of tangential freedom.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

THE TEACHING OF PEDAGOGY IN THE SEMINARY.

The question of establishing a course of education in the Seminary is at first sight rather simple; but when we examine it more closely we discover a number of factors which demand careful consideration. Central among these is the qualification of the man by whom such a course shall be given. The course itself, unquestionably, is of prime importance; and if we were called on to say what subjects shall be taught, in what order and for what length of time, we should have upon our hands an interesting but also a complex problem.

Now, in the case of the Seminary, as at present organized, much must be left to the discretion of the person in charge of the course. He has to exercise a selective judgment and therefore to bear a certain responsibility in choosing from a vast store of fact, principle and theory. But for this very reason, it is all the more needful that he should have at his command a thorough knowledge of the subject itself and a thorough appreciation of the needs of those to whom that knowledge must be imparted.

The Seminary teacher of Pedagogy, whom I shall hereafter speak of as "the professor," will naturally keep in view the field of work upon which his students are to enter after leaving the Seminary. He will foresee, as they cannot well foresee, the conditions and the problems which they must encounter. And he will so shape his teaching that the young priest coming to the practical work of the parish, is familiar, not only with the college and seminary through which he has passed, but also with the entire field of education in this country.

Our professor, in other words, is thoroughly informed on all matters concerning the parochial schools. He knows how these schools are organized in the different dioceses, who the teachers are, what means of superintendence are employed, how the curriculum is arranged, what text-books are used, what methods are applied. He is not afraid to study the needs of

the schools, nor does he set aside as dull reading the statistics that show what percentage of our children are attending Catholic schools, what their education costs and what results are obtained by the outlay and labor. This knowledge, moreover, he has acquired, not merely from books or by hearsay, but also and chiefly by personal contact with the schools. Through his own observation he has learned their strong points and their weak points. He is acquainted with the details of the school-room, with the difficulties that beset the teacher, with the drawbacks from which the pupils so often suffer.

In a word, he is as much at home in the classes where children are taught as he is in the lecture-hall where he speaks to men mature in years and training.

What such knowledge implies is clear the moment we reflect on the extent of the parochial school system. It means unremitting study and constant attention to details quite sufficient to absorb the time and activity of any man. This indeed would be the case if the parochial system were the only system of education. But we know, as a matter of fact, that it exists alongside of that other great system, the public schools. With these it is in daily competition. From them it has much to learn—of things to be adopted or of things to be avoided. What these things are the professor of pedagogy well knows. He may not carry in his head the annual report of the Commissioner of Education, nor even the statistics for Greater New York. But he is familiar with the structure of the system. He follows the movements which affect its growth. He sees what influences are brought to bear from various sources upon the life of the public school, and in what directions the public school is exerting its influence. Above all, from his comparative study of the two systems, he has clearly before his mind this most important fact: *the boy and the girl who are trained in the parochial school must compete with the boys and girls who are trained in the public school.* The rivalry is not merely between school and school. It does not cease on the day of graduation. It is continued in college and university, in business and in professional life. And the success which comes, early or late, to the graduate of our parochial school, is one of the best arguments in favor of that school.

Our professor realizes this. He knows that he is preparing his students not only to make the work of the parochial school *good*, but to make it *better* than the work of any other school.

This conviction is in no way lessened when he considers what is being done in every direction to make the public schools more efficient. He knows it is not the machinery of education that counts for most, nor the erection of costly buildings, nor their more costly equipment. All these are important and in a way necessary. But the main thing is the *preparation of teachers*. What is done in normal schools, in teachers' institutes, in university departments of education—this is the really vital part, the heart and brain of the system. Our professor is in touch with all this. He is aware how the teachers do their work in the schools; but he also knows how they are trained for that work.

Now their training is on a small scale the very training that he has received. What they have studied, perhaps in summary fashion, he has thoroughly mastered—with deeper insight and larger view. And he is therefore able to consider each problem in the light of a knowledge that is rich and varied and drawn from many sources.

Let us consider briefly the more important items of this knowledge. To begin with concrete facts, we may ask what it is that makes the difference between the good teacher and the poor teacher. Why is it that one succeeds so well in the school-room, while the other, in spite of earnestness and patient effort, is often a failure? The answer, as you well know, is easily given: *it is the difference of method*. Whatever other results may have been gotten in centuries of educational experience, certain it is that right method is essential to good teaching. In fact, there is no teaching without some sort of method; the only question is whether the method be of the right sort. Our professor is familiar with the methods employed in teaching the various school subjects. He knows just how a lesson should be given in geography and how it differs from a lecture in philosophy. He is acquainted with the so-called "devices" which so many teachers seize upon with eagerness as short-cuts to success. But the important point is that he knows how to estimate each device and each special

method at its true value. He has in his wider knowledge certain criteria which enable him to discern both the excellence and the weakness of any scheme no matter by whom it may be proposed.

Among these criteria, we may set in the first rank the question: how far does a given method conform to the nature of the pupil's mind? And this we may translate into the other question: how far does this method further the development of the mind? The answer evidently presupposes a knowledge of the laws of mental development. It is not sufficient to understand in a general way that the mind grows and then take our chances on having our method fit in more or less perfectly with that growth. The mind develops in definite ways—according to laws that are, in part at least, already formulated. To make the statement of these laws perfect is now the principal business of Psychology. And, therefore, the tests which are applied to educational method must be, in the first instance, psychological.

Psychology, I need scarcely say, deals with one form, and that the highest, of vital function. The laws of mental activity are special forms of the larger laws which govern all life. The very fact that man is substantially one being must lead us to expect a close correspondence between organic function and mental process. And the further truth on which Christian philosophy insists, the truth, namely, that the soul is the source of all vital manifestation, implies harmonious action and harmonious development of the bodily life and the mental. The study, then, of Psychology, quite naturally opens out into the wider realm of Biology—to find in the science of life as such the interpretation and the deeper meaning of the laws which we first discover in the mind itself.

Thus, the examination of any method inevitably takes us away from the empirical, from the mere matter of detail—first to the laws of psychology and then to the more comprehensive principles on which biology rests. Need I add that both these sciences receive their final interpretation from philosophy—the science that deals with the nature of mind, its origin and its destiny? In the light of these ultimate truths, we judge, not indeed of any particular method of education, but of the funda-

mental assumptions on which education as a whole is based and by which its aims and ideals are determined. The professor of the science of education will certainly be led sooner or later to dwell upon these underlying truths. He will realize, the more he ponders them, that there is the closest connection between philosophy and education—or rather that education is the systematic and concrete expression, at any time, of the philosophy which then prevails.

If there could be any doubt on this point, it would easily be dissipated by turning to the past. For whether we survey the centuries that are nearer to us or look beyond them to the Middle Ages, the beginnings of Christianity, the pre-Christian time of Greece and Rome, the same lesson invariably comes home to us. Parallel to the history of philosophy is the history of education; and not simply parallel but interacting and intertwined. If we would understand in its fulness the meaning of modern thought, we must trace its development from the beginning to our own day. And if we would fully appreciate modern theories and methods of education, we must follow their historical growth. And more than anything else, if we would realize in a very concrete way what the Church has done for education we must read over and over the story of those ages in which the Church was literally the teacher of the nations.

But even while we are studying the past, the present in which we live is moving on into the future for which we have to prepare. The teacher who profits best by the lessons of history is the teacher who discerns before their time the things that are to be—the changes that are to take place, the new social conditions that are bound to arise. However slowly or rapidly these changes may occur, it is certain that the child on leaving school is thrown into an environment to which he must in some way adapt himself—an environment, moreover, which is not static, fixed or stationary, but constantly in flux, constantly presenting new opportunities and new dangers. If education is to prepare youth for contact with this environment, it must build up a character, a power of will and action, strong enough to resist the onset of evil, steady enough to pursue the right amid all temptation. But here again we are

not dealing with pure chance or mere possibility. Social conditions and their changes are governed by law. The science of sociology, imperfect as it is just now, has brought to light many important truths that have a bearing on education. And none is more vital than this: viz., that the school must impart to the mind of the pupil such strength and flexibility that it may throughout all changes in its environment adhere steadfastly to that which is good.

It is thus evident that he who teaches the principles of education does not keep his vision focussed on any single point, but rather lets it sweep over a wide range which embraces the science of life and the science of mind, the science of the individual and the science of society, the science of the past and so far as may be, the foreknowledge of the future.

School methods, psychology, biology, history and sociology, this, you will remark, is a large store of knowledge. And yet reflection will show that it is not too large for the professor of education. On the contrary, I would say, that such an amount and variety of knowledge is necessitated by the very circumstances under which he works in the Seminary. For, in all probability, the course in education will be limited—perhaps to a single year. It must also fit into a curriculum which is already quite full of important professional subjects. And it must be given to men whose previous training has imparted certain definite modes of thinking.

Under such conditions, the main question for our professor would seem to be: how can I treat this subject of education in such a way as to use my knowledge to the best advantage of the students who come before me? In reply I would offer these suggestions:

First, the professor of education will endeavor to stimulate his students—to arouse in their minds a serious interest in the subject, to open up lines of thought which they may follow in their personal study, to acquaint them with the methods of handling educational problems, and to bring to their attention the best literature of the subject.

Second, he will correlate his work with the other work that is done in the Seminary by showing how philosophy, theology, scripture and history abound with fruitful ideas which need

only be applied in an intelligent way to modern education. In this way his course will become a direct aid to the other Seminary courses, because it will enable the student to cast his knowledge in a shape that is both definite and practical.

Third, he will accustom his students to look beyond the surface of things to the reality, beyond the results to the processes out of which these results issue. For it too often happens nowadays that people, and even teachers, are content to seize upon *facts* without even asking or suspecting how these facts have been brought about. Like the old-time physician, they see the symptoms and prescribe accordingly—yet never trace these symptoms to the underlying changes in organ and tissue. But just as modern medicine wins its triumphs by penetrating into the hidden causes of diseases—the structural and functional changes that lie deep down in the organism—so modern education, by its careful study of mental processes, has been able to remedy many defects and even to set aside as abnormal certain practices which from time immemorial had been taken as matters of course, as essentials in the work of teaching and of learning or as unfortunate conditions which the teacher might regret but could not remove.

Fourth, the professor of education will impress upon his students the necessity of realizing more and more completely the true character of *Christian* education as distinct from all other forms of education. And this means that we have to consider whether those who go out from our schools into the various walks of life are just the products that we as Christian teachers desire; whether, in any given practice or measure adopted in the school-room, we are seeking the immediate benefit or the ultimate good of the pupil; and whether, in our rivalry with other schools, we lay sufficient stress upon that superiority of character which is, after all, the one reason for which our schools exist.

These suggestions are offered rather to indicate the character of the work which awaits the professor of education than to map out in detail his course of instruction. What has been said and much more will occur at once to the mind of a professor who has been properly trained for his position. I say "*properly* trained"; because it is my conviction that in

an affair of so great importance as this it is essential that the work should be well done from the start. Better delay the start, if need be, for some time, than make a poor beginning. Better by far to let the future professor of education devote years to his own preparation, laying deep his foundation in the sciences that treat directly or indirectly of mental life.

Supposing now that with this thorough preparation our professor entered upon his duties; upon what will his success depend? Upon himself in great part; upon the qualifications of his students; upon all the conditions which affect the existing Seminary course; but it will depend in a special way upon the sympathy and cooperation of those who in each diocese are charged with the direction of the schools. A superintendent who has received the same preparation as our Seminary professor will render effectual aid to the Seminary work. He is in daily contact with the school, he knows what the teachers need and he understands the value of the training which the Seminary gives. In those dioceses particularly which have no Seminary of their own, the need of affording the superintendent every possible advantage in the way of preparation is obvious.

But in proportion as our schools develop—in number and quality—the need will be felt—or rather it is now felt—of men who are familiar with the science of education, who are interested in its problems and able to discuss them on the public platform or in the educational review. We need men in every diocese who are prepared to give our teachers those occasional lectures and those systematic courses of education which so many of these teachers are now seeking in non-Catholic institutions.

And yet in a larger way, we need men, not alone in the schools where children are taught, but also in the highest of all schools, the Christian pulpit—men who are deeply versed in the science and art of teaching. To expound the truths of the gospel is no easy task. It was the task of the greatest of all teachers. It becomes, at ordination, the duty of every priest. And this duty will be fulfilled just in proportion as the priest has taken into his own mind the doctrine of Christ and with that doctrine an intelligent grasp of the divine method which stands out on every page of the Gospel. THOMAS SHIELDS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

La Théologie de Tertullien. Par Adhemar d'Alès, prêtre. Paris: Beauchesne, 1905. Pp. 16 + 531.

Tertullian has become in recent years the object of much painstaking study largely owing to his having been so notable a witness of the ancient faith and so strong an influence on Latin tradition. Estimates of him have varied; fragmentary studies of so many-sided a character existed in abundance, and some that were fuller in their presentation. But analysis, however penetrating, is likely to lack that judicious quality which seems to make itself manifest only when a writer is studied in all his parts. Judgment then becomes more mellow and a balance is struck between conflicting estimates,—the consistent creature of logic disappears, and a concrete man of many selective interests emerges in his individuality. That is why a volume such as the one here under review, which aims at presenting a complete mental portrait of the lawyer-theologian of Carthage, is most valuable and welcome, even apart from the clear-cut bits of analysis in which it abounds, and the scientific spirit which broods over its pages. *Totum maius sua parte.*

It is clear at a glance that the best way to unravel the contradictions of Tertullian—and they are many—is to reconstruct the order of time in which his works were written. This the author does in the introduction by studying Tertullian's own quotations of himself, the allusions which he makes to contemporary history, and the traces of Montanism in his writings. This third criterion is applied with none of that "straining at gnats" so often met with in the literary criticism of the day.

Tertullian was first and foremost an Apologist; his Apologetic, though practically his maiden effort, was also his masterpiece,—a sure sign that he did not attain any very remarkable development of intellect in his subsequent literary career. He was not much of an initiator, and his knowledge, however encyclopedic, did not include the quality of deep metaphysical insight. He was a Christian at heart before he became one in mind and spirit, and his "*testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ*" is true, strikingly true, of himself. His ardent nature offered a fairer field for moral considerations than for speculation pure and simple. His hostility to philosophy and to the spirit of inquiry in religious matters; his weakness in dogmatic exposition and his towering strength as a delineator of the moral

beauty inherent in the Christian scheme of life, show in what direction his abilities really lay.

Of course, this hostile attitude must not be so far pressed, as some indeed have pressed it, into a glorification of unreason. The famous formula "*Credo quia absurdum*" has served to put Tertullian in a bad light, making it appear that absurdity was for him the chief criterion of Christian belief. This formula is not found in the Carthaginian's writings. He has indeed expressed its equivalent; but when he did, he was addressing heretics who were already convinced of the divinity of Christ, yet still insisted on interpreting revelation to suit their fancy. He assumed a different tone when arguing with the pagans; and to represent him as suppressing reason altogether in the final test of faith is to misunderstand most grossly this lover of paradoxes and master of style.

The author in this first chapter shows very plainly how Tertullian, turning with disgust from the philosophers of paganism, yet finding in the human soul a natural witness to Christianity, undertook to establish the divinity of the Christian religion on the historic foundations of the old and new testaments, and the annals of the Church; how he laid stress on the providential history of the old testament, established its divine authority on the basis of prophecies fulfilled, and insisted on relating these prophecies to the gospel miracles as their best commentary; how he finally pointed in triumph not only to the homage which even demons paid to the divine power of Christianity, but also to the transcendent purity of Christian morals in which the meekest and most delicate of virtues existed alongside the most heroic intrepidity.

To Tertullian's mind the existence of God was sufficiently attested by the popular conscience, although he over-estimated the contents of the latter by failing to keep distinct what was manifestly due to education and authoritative teaching. The justice and goodness of God were the products of a sort of divination which might be called intuition. The unity of God called forth his best efforts against polytheism, the materialistic dualism of Hermogenes, the scriptural dualism of Marcion, and the idealistic pantheism of Valentinus. He declares the essence of God to be spirit, yet mars this statement in the next breath by saying that God, and all that is, is body. Benignly as one might interpret him here, the trail of materialism is over his pages; he could not rise to the idea of the purely immaterial and bodiless.

The doctrine of the Trinity he defended with ardor, even after his lapse into Montanism, against Praxeas and others who sacrificed

this truth in the interests of the divine unity. The eternal generation of the Son is held by Tertullian, although he has much to say on the temporal generation of the Word to puzzle the fairest-minded of critics. He fails to distinguish clearly the person of the Holy Ghost from that of the Son, largely perhaps because of his pre-occupation with the views of the Monarchians and Patripassians which he wished to overthrow. He cannot be said to have clarified this great theological question of the Trinity, although his application of the legal term "persona" to the divine hypostases showed what a lawyer could accomplish when turned theologian. He talks throughout most disconcertingly, especially to ears grown accustomed to the precision of later days and unused to the "verbum prolatum" of the Eastern Fathers. The fact of the matter is that Tertullian speaks after the manner of the Greeks, has more in mind the cosmogonic questions rife in his day, than a description of the divine inner life, and was too weak in philosophic insight to interpret a mysterious truth, the substance of which he never doubted, however grossly inexact his expressions may have been; sometimes, when it is a question of the hierarchical order between the divine persons, amounting almost to a profession of subordinationism, which is the construction rather unfairly put upon his language by Harnack. It is too much to expect the precision of a post-nicene theologian in the generous efforts of this pagan convert, and the judicious critic, like our author, will neither whitewash nor blacken him unduly.

Tertullian rejected the eternity of matter and taught the doctrine of creation, although his analysis of the creative act, and of the divine mode of action, leaves much to be desired. While holding fast to the substantial unity of the soul, he nevertheless takes sides against the spiritualist school in proclaiming that the soul is made up of matter. Born of the breath of God, the soul is immortal, corporeal, of definite shape, intelligent, free, and sprung from the single soul of Adam. He even appeals to tradition in support of this crude traducianism, although his whole essay in psychology is written with the pages of Genesis before him. Elements are borrowed from the Stoics, from Plato, and many other sources which the author traces. Although he rejected pre-existence, he recognized neither the immediate creation of the soul, nor its fitness to attain its end when released from the body.

He taught that every soul, to which paradise had not been made accessible by martyrdom, sojourned "apud inferos in diem Domini." The need of a final purification of souls destined for eternal beatitude is strongly brought out. The doctrine of the bodily resurrection is

firmly professed and supported by arguments based upon the demands and requirements of divine justice. However faulty Tertullian's "De Anima" may appear, it marks the starting-point in the development of Christian psychology. Only a sound philosophy, which came much later, could have saved the African jurist from his many stumblings. We who enjoy the fruits of centuries of labor forget the difficulties that bestrew the path of a pioneer.

How Tertullian refuted the Marcionite heresy of the two Christs, inspired as it was by a supposed antagonism between the severe God of the Old Testament and the benign God of the New; how he triumphed over Docetism and defended the divine maternity of Mary only to call in question her virginity in and after the Savior's birth, is strongly developed in the fourth chapter.

The treatise "*De præscriptione hæreticorum*" is in many ways a remarkable document which our author rapidly analyzes before reconstructing Tertullian's views on the Church, Scripture, and tradition. Truth was in possession against heresy which came too late for a hearing. The agreement of the apostolic churches is not the result of chance, but the index of primitive tradition. "*Quod apud multos unum invenitur non est erratum sed traditum.*" By means of this two-edged sword, he kept back intruders, and at the same time established a criterion of Christian truth. He expresses clearly the idea of the Church as the society of the Christian faithful, accredited by Christ to be the depositary, guardian, and interpreter of the Scriptures. This Church is one, apostolic, catholic, hierarchical, and holy, "*dominus mater Ecclesia.*" He recognizes the primacy of the Roman See only to retract this admission in the days of his bitterness of spirit. His views on the inspiration, the canon, and the exegesis of Scripture next receive at the hands of the author a most interesting treatment of great value to the biblical student inquiring into the origins of the Latin bible. The fifth chapter is closed by a number of important reflections on the doctrinal formulas mentioned by Tertullian.

The moral and Christian life as viewed by Tertullian is exposed in detail by the author—nature, grace, original sin, the virtues, and Christian practices—in the sixth chapter. The seventh is devoted to Tertullian's views on prayer and the sacraments. Space forbids our saying more than a few words in this already lengthy review. These few words concern Tertullian and the sacrament of penance. The administration of the sacrament of penance according to the discipline prevailing in Africa in Tertullian's time had three phases; the first secret, a private confession made to the bishop; the two others public,

namely, the exomologesis, an external satisfaction and declaration of repentance before God, and before the Church; and finally the episcopal sentence which put an end to the public penance and reconciled to God both inwardly and outwardly at the same time the well-disposed penitent.

This is substantially the view of Mgr. Battifol to whom the author acknowledges his indebtedness. Our author finds no evidence for the existence of an entirely private sacramental penance. Tertullian admits for the post-baptismal sinner no other way of salvation than the public exomologesis. From the pardon of the Church the sins of relapsed Christians are excluded, and perhaps also certain sins of a heinous nature, although this last is not so clear because Montanism had already invaded Tertullian's mind when he wrote the "*De Pudicitia*." Nothing remained for the lapsed but to have direct recourse to the divine mercy, and to the intercession of the martyrs whose merits, in the judgment of the bishop, could be applied to sinners so as to open for them, or as the case might be, to shorten, the course of public penance. In this communication and interchange of merits we have perhaps the origin of indulgences. Too much cannot be said in praise of the author's clever handling of this slippery material which has eluded the grasp of so many critics largely perhaps, to use a legal expression, because they did not "come into equity with clean hands."

The eighth chapter depicts the polemical Tertullian, who, tired of pleading, turned to play the part of prosecuting attorney against his pagan judges. The unjust persecutions of the Christians, the groundless accusations against them, the true relations of the Christians to the civil power, to the empire and life of Rome, the divine philosophy of the Christian life in contrast with the empty vaporings of paganism, and finally the challenge flung full in the Roman's face, or the earnest homily addressed to the faithful, to take heed of the blood of martyrs,—all these are brought out into relief, together with their effects on the life of the Church and on the conduct of the Roman rulers.

And then comes that severe Phrygian illuminism to change the uncompromising Tertullian into a rigorist and to reverse his views and somewhat to sour his character—a last and sad chapter to so strenuous a Christian life. The author is not one of those who would judge Tertullian from the last chapter of his life. Instead of any such one-sided appreciation, he traces the evolution of Tertullian's ideas and the influences to which he fell a prey. Despite all his

faults and errors, he is a precious mine of information and one of the most important witnesses of the ancient faith.

This volume is the second which has appeared thus far in the "bibliothèque de théologie historique" published under the direction of the professors of theology in the Catholic Institute of Paris. It is a very worthy contribution to the history of theology and deserves the full measure of success. Three convenient indices enhance its value.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Summa Theologica—VI. Tractatus de Deo Creatore et de Angelis. Auctore Laurentio Janssens, O.S.B. St. Louis: Herder, 1905. Pp. 24 + 1048.

This sixth volume of the author's "Summa Theologica" is divided into three parts, all of which are treated in the characteristic way of the learned Benedictine rector of St. Anselm's. The method of presentation which the author follows has already been described in the Bulletin; we content ourselves in consequence with a brief review of the subject-matter treated in this volume.

The first part deals with the production of things and the four-fold nature of causality. The necessity of creation is established by positive considerations, and in two appendices over fifty pages in length, a searching examination is instituted into the various forms of materialism and pantheism. These pages are rich in criticism of current views and display to advantage the author's wide range of information. He is concerned to show that the doctrine of creation is an essential part of Christian faith, and this concern elicits from him a sharp criticism of those who endeavor to break the continuity between the Old Testament and the New, seeking for some wholly unrelated and unborrowed "essence" in which to seal Christianity hermetically against all the influences of the past, present and future. He is careful to point out, too, that the authority of science is not to be invoked, nor its patronage claimed for the idea of emanation; the doctrine of creation cannot in this lame fashion be argued out of its claim to recognition. The accepted axioms of science have been largely cast in a material mold, and this has led those whose observation was keener than their insight, whose philosophy was colored by the working principles of scientific research, to regard the physical explanation as adequate, exclusive, and final.

The concept of creation, the analysis of the creative act, the temporal origin of the world, and the possibility of eternal creation, complete the subjects treated in the first part of the volume. With

regard to the last mentioned topic, St. Thomas, as is well known, felt compelled to deny the cogency of the arguments put forth in the schools of his day to establish the temporal beginning of the world. In this he seems to have been influenced somewhat by the writings of Moses Maimonides, and by the fear of bringing theology into ridicule through over-insistence on the value and force of defective proofs. It must be confessed that the trend of theological thought has long since, though not without strenuous and distinguished opposition, been rather away from, than in line with, the view expressed by Saint Thomas. Our author frankly admits that some of the objections urged against the possibility of eternal creation are unanswerable but does not go the length of some in denying the Thomistic conception outright. In this the thoughtful scholar shows to advantage beside the special pleader.

In a footnote (p. 58) the author makes a touching reference to the work and memory of Doctor Bouquillon, which we may be pardoned for reproducing, especially as the horizon is now clear of battle-clouds, and things said of him in the heat of conflict have lost all meaning, if indeed they ever had any that will bear the light of the years. "*Lege de hoc argumento (the necessary dependence of moral theology on dogma) eruditam ac undequaque solidam dissertationem Cl. Thom. Bouquillon (Moral Theology at the end of the nineteenth century.—Cath. Univ. Bulletin, 1899), viri sane ob fidem integerrimam, vastissimam eruditionem et acutissimum ingenium inter primos huius ævi theologos adnumerandi. Cuius mortem præmaturam utraque continens luget.*" This trinity of great qualities our late lamented professor of moral theology possessed in a remarkable degree. It takes a theologian possessed of like qualities to frame so neat and true an estimate. It is a pleasure to record this appreciation of the dead scholar written by a member of that Benedictine order which he loved so well.

The second part of this volume deals with the distinction of things, their multiplicity, inequality, and unity in general, their goodness and evil in particular; to which are added considerations of the origin and constitution of corporeal things together with a long, thorough, and very interesting dissertation on the Mosaic Cosmogony followed by a detailed exposition of the work of the six days. Much might be said in praise of the author's scientific presentation if space were not wanting in which to say it. The history of the various constructions, Jewish, patristic, scholastic, and modern, put upon the Hexæmeron is orderly portrayed and vividly discussed in the light of our best knowledge. The exposition and criticism of

modern theories of interpretation serve to clear up in the student's mind a number of bewildering issues and lead him gradually by means of a thorough sifting process, to form a scholar's judgment on these "debatable lands" jointly owned by religion and science.

The author is no champion of the "periodistic view" strictly understood; he thinks that the great intervals of time between the appearance of the different beings on nature's graded scale are more easily explained on a theory of inner development under constant divine guidance than on a theory of abrupt interventions from without; yet he does not wholly reject the "periodic" view if it be relaxed so as to allow for the simultaneous appearance of animals and fishes in certain regions. He is also willing to admit the secondary part which science plays in the sacred books of the Old Testament. Of myths he will have none in these narrations, rightly claiming that the resemblances between the Bible and Babylonia regard rather the literary form than the substance of the things therein narrated. The treatment of this part is everywhere full, dispassionate, and critical; in fact it seems to be a characteristic of the author to mete out to every opponent his rightful due, and to close no question prematurely. The abundance of details, of citations, of valuable points of criticism, thrown here in a little footnote, or there in the text, makes it pleasant as well as profitable to follow our author through the labyrinthian maze which he so carefully treads.

The third and last part of the volume is given over to the doctrine of the Angels, their existence, nature, creation, ministry, and powers. Here the author generally follows the topical order of Saint Thomas, enriching the text with many valuable contributions from his own large store of information.

Enough has been said to point out the merits of this sixth volume in the series. The flowing style, synoptical tables, references, and indices make it easy matter for the reader to follow its contents. A good commentary of St. Thomas should be on every shelf, and here is one which brings the older and the newer knowledge into close companionship.

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

Clemens Alexandrinus, I, *Protrepticus* und *Paedagogus* (Griechisch-Christliche Schriftsteller). Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. 8°, pp. lxxxiii + 351.

The new critical edition of the Greek text of the *Protrepticus* and the *Pædagogus* of Clement of Alexandria (d. before 215 or 216), adds much to the utility of the Berlin edition of the early Greek Christian

writers. The principal manuscript used is the famous tenth-century Codex Par. 451, known as the Arethas-Codex and of supreme value, otherwise, for the tradition of the Christian Apologists. The internal evidence of this manuscript seems to indicate that as early as the fifth century the text of Clement of Alexandria served as a theological classic in the Christian schools of the time. In his introduction Dr. Stählin enumerates first the "testimonia antiquorum" from Julius Africanus and Alexander of Jerusalem to Photius. He then describes the manuscript-evidence for the *Protrepticus* and the *Pædagogus*, the *Stromata*, the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, the *Eclogæ Propheticae*, the *Quis dives salvetur*, and the *Adumbrationes*, in a word for the works of Clement as they are now extant after seventeen centuries of use and abuse. It is well known, of course, that modern criticism has found no small amount of patristic material in the *Catenæ* and the *Florilegia* that Greek compilers put together from the early sixth to the end of the eighth century. Together with the "Bibliotheca" of Photius they often take the place of originals now utterly lost or undiscoverable.

This new edition owes much to the labors of previous editors, and Dr. Stählin does not hesitate to acknowledge the fact. After the "editio princeps" of 1550, the Sylburg edition of 1592, the Paller edition of 1715 (p. viii-ix) and the Oberthür edition of 1778-1779, represent the zeal and skill of patristic scholars previous to the nineteenth century. In the last century Dindorf (1869) brought out an edition of Clement; Theodor Heyse had begun another when death interrupted him; it was announced in 1885 that K. J. Neumann and E. Hiller would execute it, but it remained for Dr. Stählin to incorporate in this first volume not only his own learning but that of a number of other prominent scholars. Very interesting are the details concerning the Latin translation added in 1551 by Hervetus to the editio princeps, and gradually perfected by this venerable canon of Rheims until 1590. Dr. Stählin recalls (p. lxxvii) the recent theory of Chapman in the *Revue Benedictine* (XXI, 240, 269) that the Muratorian Fragment is a remnant of the Hypotyposes of Clement, a lost scriptural commentary known only through a few citations by later writers. Among the translations of Clement, Stählin notices the complete English translation by W. Wilson, in the Ante-Nicene Library. Worthy of note also are the new edition of the *Stromata* by Fenlon John Hort and Joseph B. Mayor, with an English translation, introduction and notes (London, 1902) also the edition of *Quis dives salvetur* by P. Mordaunt Bernard (Cambridge, 1897), in both of which much improvement was made on the

current text of this valuable ancient author. Every seminary library at least should possess this new edition of Clement of Alexandria. His writings abound in important materials for the history of Christian philosophical thought, the refutation of ancient heresies, the social life of the primitive Christians, and the attitude of cultivated Greek Christians toward the best and worthiest elements of society in the Roman Orient about A. D. 200.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften I, Die Pistis-Sophia, Die beiden Bücher des Jeû, unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk. Von Dr. Carl Schmidt (Greichisch-Christliche Schriftsteller). Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. 8°, xxvii + 410.

The indefatigable scholar who lately astonished the learned world by the ingenuity of his researches into the true character of the second-century "Acta Pauli," confers another service by the present critical edition of certain old Coptic texts of a Gnostic character. They were already known to the savants in that tongue, through the famous Codex Askewanus (Br. Museum, Add. 5114) and the Codex Brucianus (Bodleian, Oxford), and have been more or less perfectly made known, in a particular way to the reading public by the French translation of the Pistis Sophia owing to Amélineau (1895) and the English translation of the same published by Mead (1896) and made by him from Schwartz's Latin translation (1848), with the aid of Amélineau's French. These old manuscripts were probably written in the seventh, perhaps even in the sixth century (Hyvernât). But they represent a much older text, a native and original Gnostic propaganda-literature of the third century, Ophite or Barbelo-Gnostic in character rather than Valentinian. Every such publication reveals to the critical student the great good sense and the sure wisdom of the orthodox opponents of Gnosticism. It was an immense deception of humanity, then moving toward better things, an attempt to confiscate the merits and sufferings of Catholic Christianity in favor of a cryptic aristocracy of proud scholars. Not a few of their glaring sophisms were laid bare by Plotinus himself in his discourse against the Roman Gnostics, as Dr. Schmidt has elsewhere pointed out with much acumen. Our modern Theosophy recognizes only too quickly the close relation between itself and the false philosophers who disputed with Clement and Origen in the Museum at Alexandria.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

A Short History of the Westminster Assembly. By W. Beveridge, M.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1904. 8°, pp. 165.

In the Westminster Assembly (1643-1652) the Scotch supporters of Cromwell hoped to secure the pay they wanted, i. e., the transformation of the episcopal government of the Anglican Church into their own presbyterian system. Puritanism, beaten back by Elizabeth and James, and feebly held in restraint by Charles I and Laud, seized on the psychological moment to accomplish in England what Knox had done in Scotland in 1560, i. e., the fastening on the English people of a yoke held down on the one side by a lay parliament and on the other by an ecclesiastical assembly, in such a way however, that the Genevan papacy should dominate in both bodies, and the cruel theory of the divine kingdom excoagitated by John Calvin affect most intimately every relation of social and political life. Once more the English nature showed itself, rejected Scotch government, but compromised on doctrine. That lesson had been learned so well from Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer that it had passed into the consciousness of the people, and has stuck there ever since. Mr. Beveridge has compiled an entertaining and spirited story of this famous event that, as he rightly maintains, affected profoundly the Anglican Church and that may well be looked on as a middle chapter between the Book of Common Prayer of 1552 and the Latitudinarianism of the eighteenth century.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia, and their place in the plan of the Apocalypse. By W. M. Ramsay. New York: Armstrong, 1905. 8°, pp. xix + 446.

The author of the "Cities and Bishopies of Phrygia" and of "St. Paul the Traveller" is well qualified to compose an historical commentary on the remarkable group of letters in the Apocalypse directed to the seven principal Christian communities of Asia Minor. Dr. Ramsay emphasizes the Græco-Asiatic elements in the Apocalypse, in this differing considerably from most previous commentators who have usually laid stress on the Judaic element, even to the entire neglect of the Greek element in that remarkable book. The topographical and geographical references of the Apocalypse are illustrated with the skill of one who has lived much in those parts of Asia Minor. A novel element of the work is the interpretation of the Apocalyptic symbolism in the light of Græco-Asiatic coins and other survivals of the public civil and religious life of the first Christian century (pp. 57-74). The book is marked by a reverential and conservative spirit,

and may be read, generally speaking, with profit. Perhaps, Dr. Ramsay attributes too much influence to certain traditional pagan views of religion in the formation of the style of the Apocalypse. The work still seems to us substantially Judaic in coloring and mannerisms. There was indeed, a certain "syncretism of Jewish and native Asian thought," but its positive influence on Christian expression was far from being as powerful as Dr. Ramsay would have us believe. The readers of Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers will find this volume helpful for the study of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp.

A Source-Book for Mediæval History, Selected Documents illustrating the history of Europe in the Middle Ages. By Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar H. McNeal. New York: Scribners, 1905. 8°, pp. xix + 619.

Professor Thatcher of the University of Chicago and Professor McNeal of the Ohio State University, present us in this volume with a series of three hundred and twenty-five documents, in whole or in excerpts, translated from the (mostly) Latin sources, and meant to illustrate: The Germans and the Empire to 1073, The Papacy to the Accession of Gregory VII (1073), the Struggle between the Empire and the Papacy, The Empire (1250-1500), The Church (1250-1500), Feudalism, Courts, Judicial Processes and Peace, Monasticism, The Crusades, Social Classes and Cities in Germany. The idea of a Source-Book of mediæval historical materials is a good one, though it may be questioned whether the field covered be not entirely too broad to give a clear insight into the vastness and complexity of these materials, also their changing character from one period to another. A general introduction on the nature and kinds of mediæval historical sources would not be out of place. The descriptive summaries prefixed to each section make up in a way for the lack of this general orientation. Though aiming at objective fairness they seem to us to betray occasionally the sympathies of the compilers. It is only natural to imagine that a Catholic compiler would enlarge considerably the number of documents in the second section that deals with the influence of the papacy previous to 1073. If we are to effectively use such translations in the class-room or seminar, it will be necessary to have separate source-books for the papacy, the empire, monasticism, canon law, and the episcopate, the five great factors of mediæval life. It is easy, of course, to formulate one's desiderata; we ought really to be thankful for this first step in the right direction,

while looking forward to improvements, both in the quantity of documents and the general appreciation of their nature and their drift.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Justin, Apologies. Texte Grec, traduction française, introduction et index, par Louis Pautigny. Paris: Picard, 1904. 8°, pp. xxxvi + 198 (Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du christianisme publiés sous la direction de Hippolyte Hemmer et Paul Lejay.

Increased interest in patrological studies, and the example of non-Catholic schools and publishers, have induced MM. Hemmer and Lejay to begin the production of a series of patristic texts, Greek and Latin, for handy use in our Catholic seminaries and advanced schools, as also for self-help in the direction of private study. Selected Latin and Greek writings, as far as Gregory I (d. 604) will appear from time to time. They will be chosen from those that are moderate in extent and important for the history of primitive Christianity. The price is purposely made quite low. All necessary "subsidia" concerning the author and his work will be furnished in introductions prepared according to the best modern criteria. Several suitable indexes will accompany each volume. The best accessible text will be reproduced in each case. The editors state that they will take part "à aucune polémique religieuse, voulant se renfermer dans le rôle modeste qu'ils ont défini et ne présenter aux lecteurs que des textes surs et des traductions exactes, des faits et des documents." The text of each work will be accompanied by a French translation. We recommend the work to all our readers. It follows in the wake of Fr. Hurter's "Opuscula Selecta," though constructed on a different plan, of Dr. Rauschen's "Florilegium Patristicum" and of other similar enterprises. There is henceforth no reason why patristic studies should not flourish in our seminaries.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Histoire D'Heraclius. Par l'évêque Sebêos, traduite de l'Arménien et annotée par Frederic Macler. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904. 8°, pp. xv + 166.

All students of the beginnings of Islam know how scarce are reliable contemporary materials. A cursory reading of Gibbon and Bury suffices to confirm this conviction. For this reason alone the work before us possesses a special value. Sebêos was an Armenian bishop of the seventh century who wrote under the afore-mentioned

title an account of the civil and religious events of his own time, as far as 661. The wars of Heraclius with Persian generals, and the Arab invasions of Armenia alternate with accounts of Zoroastrian persecution and partisan Monophysite apology. Its pages offer a fair and sufficient outlook upon the distracted Armenia of the seventh century—anti-Persian, anti-Arab, anti-Greek, a buffer-state too weak to sustain itself, politically at least, amid the clashing interests of the period. The Armenian text was printed in 1851 and again in 1879. Of the three books attributed to this history, only the third is the genuine work of Sebêos. This writer does not indicate his authorities; they were probably Byzantine writers, and he resembles both them and the Arab annalists in his method and the use of his materials. But he is a contemporary and an eye-witness of the first invasions of Armenia by the now fanaticized Arabs, of the wars between Heraclius and the doomed Sassanides, of the last cruelties of the Magian priesthood, and of the long duration of hatred for the Council of Chalcedon. He is also the only one to narrate these matters from the point of view of a learned and pious Armenian. We have no doubt that all future Western histories of this period will make a generous use of the pages of Sebêos. They are often picturesque and dramatic.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Theodora, Imperatrice de Byzance. Par Charles Diehl. Paris: Rey, 1904. 3d ed. 8°, pp. 312.

When a scholar of the capacity and experience of M. Diehl undertakes to draw a popular portrait of the great Byzantine empress (527-548), we may be sure that all the genuine historical elements will be presented to the reader, and that the writer will spare no effort to hold the balance evenly between the extremes of flattery and reprobation. Our principal source for the inner life of the imperial palace at Constantinople in the first half of the sixth century has always been Procopius, soldier, courtier, writer, statesman. Had he left us but one set of opinions, all might have been well. But he has left two diametrically opposite accounts of the public and private life of Justinian and thus furnished the annals of historical literature with one of its most tantalizing curiosities. Only a minute acquaintance with all the writings and monuments of the time, and a critical spirit long exercised in their study, could enable a modern writer to appreciate with equity the rôle and attitude of the principal figures of the curia of New Rome on the Golden Horn. The workings of Byzantine law and government in Italy, and the personality of Justinian have so long occupied M. Diehl that few if any of the historical sources of

the period have escaped him. He possesses at the same time in a high degree that historical imagination which enables the writer to construct, and that sure sense of analogy which enables him to fortify his hypotheses, as an experienced advocate buttresses his case with precedents and arguments. We commend to the reader the little chef d'œuvre of a preface in which M. Diehl sketches his general impressions of the dancing-girl who became an empress, this "caractère ondoyant et multiforme" who showed much statesmanlike ability, and so affected for good or evil the imagination and heart of a great ruler like Justinian that for twenty years after her death she was still, in his mind, at the helm of state, still influential on all his decisions, both civil and ecclesiastical.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

English Monastic Life. By Abbot Gasquet, with numerous illustrations, briefs and plans. Second edition, revised. New York: Benziger, 1904. 8°, pp. xix + 326.

Dom Gasquet has found time, amid other engrossing tasks, to compile an account of the monastic life in mediæval England. Its eleven chapters are entitled: The Monastic Life, The Material Parts of a Monastery, The Monastery and its Rules, The Obedientiaries (officials) of the Monastery, The Daily Life in a Monastery, The Nuns of Mediæval England, External Relations of the Monastic Orders, The Paid Servants of the Monastery, The Various Religious Orders. Four maps of monastic England accompany the volume and exhibit the relative strength of the principal orders. The teacher of mediæval English history will be grateful for the long list (pp. 252-318) of English monastic houses, so executed that one can see at a glance to what order or rule each belonged. There is also a list of the principal manuscript materials and printed books used in the compilation of the work. May we not hope to have some day from his pen a complete bibliography of English monasticism? We recommend this work cheerfully to our readers as an authentic and highly interesting account of one of the powerful forces that made the Middle Ages, and that so blended itself with all Christian life and thought, that it continues to live on in their survival and to affect the world more potently than the latter suspects. Numerous illustrations of monastic life taken from rare and valuable old manuscripts decorate the volume. It could well be used as collateral reading in all advanced classes of mediæval history.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

John Knox. His Ideas and Ideals. By Rev. James Stalker, D.D.
New York: Armstrong, 1905. 8°, pp. 246.

The fourth centenary of the birth of John Knox, called by Dr. Stalker, the "greatest of Scotsmen," has given rise to quite a deal of historical literature concerning this apostate priest and ring-leader of rebellion and sedition. Dr. Stalker adds nothing to the standard life of Knox by Thomas McCrie, according to which he was the shining light of true faith lifted up among the degraded Scotch of the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact, he was a self-called revolutionary demagogue, who abetted and preached assassination, conspired against lawful authority, fled when personal danger threatened him, and used great oratorical gifts to delude a peculiar people. He was a burner of churches and a rude Vandal amid the refinements of ancient Scottish Catholicism. His success was chiefly owing to the wretched condition of Scotch Catholicism, as depicted by Canon Bellesheim, and not at all to the inherent truth of his stern and inhuman doctrine. Old Ninian Winzet, Quintin Kennedy, and Alexander Bailly are the true witnesses of the circumstances that led to the dictatorship of Knox, as well as of the genuine Catholic faith of the Scotch people. "The fathers ate sour grapes, and the teeth of the children stood on edge" might well be written over a true account of the life of Knox.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

L'Italie Meridionale et L'Empire Byzantin, depuis l'avènement de Basile I. jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071).
Par Jules Gay. Paris: Fontemoing, 1904. 8°, pp. xxvi + 636.

Twenty years ago (1881-1884) the three charming volumes of Charles Lenormant on "La Grande Grèce" awoke in Europe much enthusiasm for the history of Southern Italy in the long forgotten centuries that stretch from Charlemagne to Robert Guiscard. Since then, domestic and foreign writers have turned in growing numbers towards a land and a time in which took place events of surpassing importance for the history of Europe, both civil and profane. Italian, German and French writers have unearthed not a few important documents, while the architectural and palæographical treasures of the period have been studied with fresh zest and great success. In the traces of Muratori and Ughelli and the workers of the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* have followed such writers as Capasso, Hirsch, Schlumberger, Rambaud, Diehl, and a multitude of local savants and investigators. Of late noble flambeaux have been erected for the aid of this army of toilers, e. g., Duchesne's edition of the *Liber Pon-*

tificalis, Krumbacher's *Byzantine Literature* (2d ed. 1901) and the stately volumes of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. University centres like Munich, monastic centres like Monte Cassino, and academico-scientific centres like the French School of History and Archæology at Rome, have taken up these studies with much energy. The volume of M. Gay is only the last in a series of volumes that the French School has put forth through its laborious disciples, with the purpose of illustrating all the antiquities of this period of South Italian life. M. Gay has composed it at first hand from the Greek and Latin Chronicles of the period, the lives of the Basilian monks and saints, the Byzantine laws, treaties, and charters, as well as the miscellaneous writers of the period. The list of his authorities covers several closely printed pages, and a study of any chapter of the work shows that it is written directly from the original sources. Here may be traced the conflicting interests of Lombard, Roman, Greek, Arab, Frank and Norman during three centuries, also of popes of Rome, and emperors of Constantinople, of the clergy, Eastern and Western, and in general the reasons of the final adhesion to Western ideals and institutions of those extensive Mediterranean territories, that on the eve of the Iconoclastic troubles still looked with affection and confidence toward New Rome as their over-lord and the keystone of civilization.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Owen Roe O'Neill (1582-1649). By J. F. Taylor. Third Impression. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904. 8°, pp. vi + 250.

If one were asked to point out a fatal decade in modern Irish history it would, in the opinion of most historically-minded persons, be that which elapsed from 1640 to 1650, the period of the Kilkenny Confederation. Then appeared at last on Irish soil a combination of all the elements pro-Irish and anti-English, that had been more or less active since the death of Mary Tudor (1558). Then, too, came to a head in England the long-gathering opposition against the despotism of Tudor and Stuart, intensified now by a stern convinced religious temperament that had been variously fed and nurtured since the rejection of papal authority by Henry VIII. The religious warfare that had been raging on the Continent since the early consolidation of the North-German Protestant power in the League of Schmalkald was entering upon the final stages that culminated with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). The old rivalries of France and England and Spain were exhausted to give way to others whose roots were perhaps

the same but whose catch-words and stages were quite unlike those of former days. No man of Irish race was more keenly alive than Owen Roe O'Neill to all the elements of hope and danger that the Irish cause presented in those days. Soldier, diplomat, patriot, scholar, he amply justified his descent from a princely race that acknowledged no superior in Europe. This last of the great Irish chiefs fell upon evil times, on a period of treason, disunion, selfishness and divided councils. But he did a work that measures up to the standard of permanent greatness judged by the criteria of duty and faith, and not by those of success and glory. Alone he rises above the civil and most of the ecclesiastical figures of contemporary Ireland, as wise counsellor and as man of action. After his death the great Irish histories of the Four Masters and Geoffrey Keating might well be published: *fuit Ilium*. Mr. Taylor has told the story of Owen Roe with a truthful and sympathetic pen. The subject, however, is one of much grandeur and awaits yet a historian who shall treat it with critical acumen, documentary fulness, and philosophic freedom of judgment.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Studies in Early Irish History. By Professor John Rhys. From the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. I. London: Henry Frowde.

This paper, full of interest and learning, contains Professor Rhys' latest *dictum* on the subject to which he has given so much investigation, viz: the linguistic evidence of the pre-Celtic population of the British Isles. The memoir is centered upon an inscription from Co. Kildare, in Ogam and Latin which shows curious case-endings. In the course of his remarks on the meaning of this inscription, Professor Rhys observes that "Druidism was not of Celtic origin . . . and that the word for 'druid' was not Celtic but adopted by the Celts from some earlier population of the countries conquered by them" (*cf.* d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La Civilisation des Celtes*, p. 93 and note). The origin of many Irish place and tribe names and of the personages of the saga-cycles is discussed. The names for Ireland, *hErin* and *hEreenn* with the aspirate are to be preferred, says Professor Rhys, to those without it, the *h*, in the Irish words (which in the Latin *Hibernia* is due simply to popular etymology) being phonetic and representing the initial consonantal *i*. Another interesting word whose meaning had already been studied in *iarn-belra*. It is only the first word of the compound whose meaning is obscure. Professor Thurneysen (*R. Celtique*, XIII) and most Irish scholars, had translated it "the lan-

guage of iron." Now Professor Rhys proposes "the primitive Irish language," thus bringing the word into relationship with one of the primitive names for Ireland. This translation undoubtedly gives excellent meaning to the expression but, as M. d'Arbois de Jubainville points out (*R. Celtique*, XXVI, 185) it is open to objection on grounds of phonetics.

One conclusion we may draw with Professor Rhys from his researches (as also from an article of M. Loth in the *R. Celtique*, XVIII, 304) is that there was probably more intercourse between the Goidelic portions of the British Isles and the Continent than is usually supposed.

J. DUNN.

Essentials in English History. By Albert Perry Walker. New York: The American Book Co., 1905.

In describing briefly the chief movements in the history of England the author's generalizations are stated somewhat boldly. It is said, for instance, that the Romans left Britain "but little advanced in political or social development." If, as Macaulay asserts, the inhabitants at the coming of the Romans were but little superior in civilization to the natives of the Sandwich Islands, Mr. Perry's statement requires some qualification. Indeed, in his chapter on the Roman occupation of Britain he indicates very sensible progress made by the natives. He fails, however, to point out the defects of the Roman system of instruction, and thus leaves the reader to infer that the Anglo-Saxon conquest was simplified by the natural lack of military qualities in the Britains whereas their overthrow is rather to be ascribed to the fact that they had become strangers to the use of arms, an art in which their Latin conquerors gave them no instruction.

Of the introduction of Christianity during the era of Roman occupation little is said; indeed, its very existence is only alluded to, and it is important to remember that the religion of the Romanized Britains was not without its influence upon the character of the subsequent conquest.

Again, after paying the customary compliment to the political skill of the Germanic conquerors, it is said that "they promptly changed their government from the tribal to the monarchical form." As a matter of fact almost four centuries elapsed from the coming of the Jutes until Egbert, about 827 A. D., became king of the Angles.

Another of Professor Walker's comprehensive statements describes the Norman conquerors of England as of 'the same stock as the Anglo-Saxons and Danes.' If the great masters of English history are

correct, this statement, too, requires an important qualification. The followers of Rolf, who settled along the Seine, went without their women into Gaul; they intermarried among the natives, a Romanized Celto-Germanic population, and at a distance of more than a century must have formed a new race. Then, too, all the followers of Duke William were not Normans, for several other provinces of Gaul contributed to swell his ranks. The victory at Hastings was won by a people of French language and institutions over a people more purely Teutonic.

The existence in Britain after the second century of our era of a great body of Christians is not noticed. It is, however, well known that they were numerous enough to excite the fears of some of the pagan emperors of Rome; that they were represented in the Council of Arles and that they were prosperous enough to afford the luxury of a heresy. In other respects the section of this book which discusses the Roman occupation is as good as that usually found in school histories of England, both the illustrations and maps are better.

The chapter describing the Anglo-Saxon conquest is ably and fairly written, but with a hint from Green the desperate character of the struggle and the thoroughness of the victory could have been more impressively stated. The sections treating of the Danish and Norman conquests are beyond reasonable criticism. The author's account of the Feudal System is satisfactory, and the importance and organization of the manor is properly emphasized. In describing conditions under the descendants of the Conqueror the volume shows clearly the influence of the monastic orders upon arts and letters. The section upon economic and social progress is vastly superior to the meagre accounts to be found in any of the school histories which we have examined.

There are careful students of English literature who will not altogether agree with the author's estimate of the influence and the services of Wyclif. This volume presents the traditional view of the reformer. Perfect fairness would require the historian to add that concerning the Master of Baliol and his writings little is certainly known.

The touchstone by which Catholic teachers are likely to try Professor Walker's book is his treatment of the epoch of the Reformation. In this there will not be found, as in some school histories any unmeaning sneers at things Catholic. There appears on the part of the author an endeavor to be fair in dealing with those troublous times, and if his conclusions cannot always be accepted, there is added to this part of the work a list of the authorities upon which those

conclusions are based. Among the references will be found mention of Catholic historians such as Lingard and Gasquet. In a word, this volume presents the development of English history in a concise, fair and interesting manner.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

Historical Records and Studies. New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1904. 8°, pp. —.

Neither in interest nor value is Part II of the third volume inferior to those which preceded it. This section is happily introduced by the brief but eloquent sermon preached, November 16, 1902, by the Most Rev. Archbishop Farley at the consecration of the Albany Cathedral. The entire discourse abounds in valuable historical information, and the compiler of ecclesiastical annals will be delighted to find it arranged with exquisite literary art. To be appreciated, the discourse should be read in full, for any paraphrase would destroy its charm.

Not unrelated to the same theme is a useful register of the clergy laboring in the archdiocese of New York. These biographical sketches will be appreciated by the writers upon church history.

The first American pilgrimage to Rome is the subject of a very interesting narrative from the pen of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Benj. J. Keily. While the purpose of the writer was evidently to trace the successive steps which led to this event, he shows incidentally the spirit which animated American Catholics a generation ago. The article includes the address of the pilgrimage committee and the reply of the Holy Father, which contained a simple and beautiful allusion to America. In the same number of the *Record and Studies* the reader of contemporary annals will find an able and exhaustive history of the Marquette statue. To the literature upon anti-Catholic movements in the United States this is an excellent contribution.

Mr. Thomas F. Meehan should be encouraged to continue his researches in the field of American Catholic history. His sketch of Andrew Parmentier, horticulturist, and his daughter, Madame Bayer, is interesting and instructive as well to the student of history as the general reader. Scarcely less entertaining is the same writer's article on the first charity concert for the Catholic Orphans in New York.

Students of American history will find much that is suggestive in an able essay by Rev. Joseph M. Woods, S.J., on the earliest Jesuit Missionary explorers. Rev. Dr. Henry A. Brann gives a brief but very instructive biographical sketch of the late Mr. Patrick Farrelly. As supplemental reading for young people engaged in the study of

American history these little essays are admirably adapted. This is especially true of Mr. Paul Fuller's elegant notice of the late Frederick R. Coudert, Second President of the United States Catholic Historical Society. Different in subject matter from these essays is a short study by Rev. Joseph Fischer, S.J., on the difficulty of collecting in Greenland the tithes allotted for the crusades. The author is evidently a master of this as well as the related topics.

In this number is also found an exhaustive essay by Dr. Charles G. Herbermann on the naming of America. His examination of a very intricate question is one of the ablest contributions to Columbian literature which has appeared in many years. The article which includes a splendid reproduction of Martin Waldseemüller's Mapemonde, of 1507, the first map bearing the name America, shows at once excellent judgment and wide scholarship.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

Histoire de Nazareth et de ses Sanctuaries. Par Gaston Le Hardy. Paris: Lecoffre, 1905. 8°, pp. xvi + 235.

M. Le Hardy has done well to gather in one volume all known statements of pilgrims concerning Nazareth since the fourth century. It is a unique and touching tribute to the influence of the God-Man's personality, this ever-growing devotion to the site of the Annunciation and of His Hidden Life for thirty years. We have here as it were a literary history of Nazareth, written by men of many races and nationalities, priests and laymen, poor and rich, ignorant and learned. A common consensus of love and faith and gratitude exhales from so many quaint and ancient pages, all distinctive of their own time and country, and yet all bound by the tie of a common Catholic Christian devotion. Such a book might well be used as a volume of historical reading in the upper classes of Christian doctrine.

Last Letters of Aubrey Beardsley. With an Introductory Note by the Rev. John Gray. London: Longmans, 1905. 8°, pp. —.

The sympathetic preface to this book by Father Gray is a piece of good literature, but whether this is true of the scrappy notes of a tired invalid,—such as Aubrey Beardsley was when he wrote those letters,—is a question. It may have been, as Father Gray says, Mr. Beardsley's chief pre-occupation to communicate to his drawings "the surprise and delight which the visible world afforded" him, but it is certain that the element of "delight" is not found in the meretricious exaggerations of a debased art which he left to the world. It is regret-

table that even a deathbed conversion casts, with the sentimental, a glamor on the past life of the penitent; the conversion of a famous man before his death is almost certain to make most of us condone much in the past which good morals and good taste might otherwise force us to condemn. Certain of the psychological documents of Paul Bourget,—half the science of the mind and half the art of millinery,—are receiving gentle treatment since the clever author of "*Le Dèsciple*" wrote "*Un Divorce*." And Mr. Beardsley's illustrations to "*Salome*" may in time, under proper and careful scrutiny, be discovered to have a religious value. These scraps of notes would have more interest could they be composed with utterances that represented Mr. Beardsley's state of mind before illness had begun to work on him. It is evident that he regarded religion and art and literature as in conflict, that he felt that an artist must choose between art and religion. "I am interested in your Dominican artist," he writes, "because I have been wondering more than I can say what this can be like. Your letter has really made me curious. Do you know Fr. Philpin of the Brompton Oratory? He is, I believe, the poet of the community and a considerable painter. But what stumbling blocks such pious men must find in the practice of their art." Beardsley's notes on books are interesting. Aphra Behn, Veuillot,—a copy of the "*Parfum de Rome*"—Theophile Gautier and Faber shows a catholic taste. It is to his credit that he does not admire Huysmanns. He admits this apropos of "*La Cathedral*," which he did not expect to like.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

L'Art a Toulouse; Matériaux pour servir à son histoire du XVe au XVIIIe siècle. Par C. Douais, évêque de Beauvais. Paris: Picard, 1904. 8°, pp. 214.

The scholarly bishop of Beauvais is well known for several works of importance in the field of mediæval ecclesiastical history; in the volume before us he appears as the editor of a number of documents (88) that illustrate the history of the fine arts at Toulouse between 1452 and 1725. These documents are drawn from the notarial archives of the city, and are mostly contracts between artists and architects on the one hand and civil or religious authorities on the other. A hasty perusal reveals their content as interesting and instructive; they treat of the foundations, reparations, and constructions of churches; of their decoration and preservation; of ecclesiastical furniture, banners, bells, crosses, organs, clocks, and the like. Equally

interesting are the contracts in which we behold the provisions made for the construction of several of the noble private palaces that graced Toulouse in the period of the Renaissance, a development of architecture that Mgr. Douais describes as particularly "large, intense et heureux," and marked by the strong individualism of the Tolosan. Confined mostly to the use of brick, he was still an artist in thought and desire, and sought to stamp on all public and private work the seal of good taste, whether it were the portal of some proud "hôtel," or the iron-work in the gate of some private chapel or a processional banner "a l'entorn de frangas rogas tenchas en cremesi, las quals deven esser bonas sufficiens, etc."

Progress in Prayer, translated from *Instructions Spirituelles* par le R. P. Caussade, S.J. By L. V. Sheehan. Adapted and edited with an introduction by Joseph McSorley, C.S.P. St. Louis: Herder, 1904. 8°, pp. 178.

The well-known and precious little book of Père Caussade (d. 1751) is here presented in an English dress. Together with his little book on Abandonment, translated in 1887, it offers us the substance of a sane and irreproachable religious teaching on the uses and methods of meditative prayer. Amid the abundance of more or less modern works on the subject, we may be tempted to lose sight of the importance and influence of a work that was composed during the lull that followed the condemnation of the Quietism of Molinos (1688) and the painful contemporary French controversies apropos of the orthodoxy of the spiritual works of Madame Guyon. The introduction by Fr. McSorley is an excellent piece of work, in which the qualities of style are as apparent as those of moderate temper and fair appreciation. The translation commends itself by its clearness and simplicity; countless examples have shown that it is no easy task to turn into natural and idiomatic English spiritual emotions and reflections that originated in circles dominated by other racial, national, and intellectual influences.

La Mission de M. de Forbin-Janson, évêque de Marseille (Beauvais), auprès du Grand-Duc et de la Grande Duchesse de Toscane Mars-Mai 1673: Recit d'un témoin. Par C. Douais eveque de Beauvais. Paris: Picard, 1904. 8°, pp. 204.

The indefatigable bishop of Beauvais makes known in this volume a curious incident of Tuscan political history that took place in the

latter quarter of the seventeenth century, the separation of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany from her husband. This great lady was Marguerite d'Orléans, a cousin of Louis XIV, daughter of Gaston de France, and half-sister of Mdle. Montpensier "la grande demoiselle." She had been married, unwilling, at an early age to the heir of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and from the outset exhibited an irremediable incompatibility of temper. Louis XIV sent to Florence the bishop of Marseilles, de Forbin-Janson, with the hope of reconciling the unhappy pair. His efforts were vain. On his return he was made bishop of Beauvais, eventually cardinal, and died in 1713 at the age of eighty-three. A member of his suite wrote an interesting and hitherto unedited "Relation" of the embassy to Florence. With its aid Mgr. Douais has retold the story of this delicate mission and has added several hitherto unknown fragments of correspondence that throw light upon its object and course. We may add that the original "Relation" is valuable for its account of the court-manners of Tuscany in the seventeenth century.

Albrecht Dürer, Sein Leben, Schaffen und Glauben. Geschildert von Dr. G. Anton Weber. Mit vielen Abbildungen. Third edition. New York: Pustet, 1903. 8°, pp. xii + 235.

Dr. Weber has told us with much charm of diction the story of the noblest character and the most brilliant artist among all German painters. Indeed, Dürer is one of those artists who belong to no nation, but to the world at large, so profoundly human is their interpretation of life, and so broad were the sympathies that they exhibited in their masterpieces. The life of Dürer has been often presented to the public, but never with such an abundance of proof that the great artist lived and died a genuine Catholic. Dr. Weber has gathered and interpreted numerous evidences of this fact (120-226). His work ought to long enjoy a certain finality, if it were possible to remove prejudice, interest, and feeling from the breasts of his opponents.

La Question qui nous Divise le Plus. Par Albert Lavallée. Paris: Lavallée, 1905. 8°, pp. 118.

M. Lavallée examines with calmness some phases of the actual religious situation in France. What is the true root of the unhappy national situation? It is political, social, or religious? What is the power of a "scientific" morality as compared with religious morality? Is it possible to overthrow the religious sentiment in modern France,

to move forever from all men's hearts the Christian idea of God? Is it impossible to find a margin of mutual tolerance, a common freedom enjoyed by all men of good will in which all shall work out practically the best ideas of their systems, old or new, without violation of peace or charity? If such a régime were established, would not men soon come to understand one another more intimately, hence to respect one another, perhaps in time to borrow largely from one another. Alas! the French mind is so naturally doctrinaire in temper and bureaucratic in exercise that such a large and generous practical fiction as M. Lavallée suggests, though possible, seems very far away.

Regime Intellectuel des Clerics au Sortir du Seminaire. Par M. Guesdon. Paris: Lecoffre, 1904. 16°, pp. 186.

We recommend very earnestly the study of this little work to all seminarians and to the younger clergy—not a few of the older clergy might also profit by the reading of it. The author is an experienced educator of French ecclesiastics, and his little work contains the ripe fruit of many years of devotion. He begins by laying down certain accepted rules for such scholarly study as befits ecclesiastics. Thence he passes to more special advice and suggestions, dealing in turn with the principal ecclesiastical sciences, and including such rubrics as "Questions Sociales," "Sciences et Critique," "Voyages," and "Notes Personnelles." Pages 110–159 offer suggestions for an up-to-date ecclesiastical library, naturally such as would fit in with the needs of a French-speaking clergy. Finally he sketches a number of "Selecta Studia" in the principal ecclesiastical sciences, indications of living problems, outlines of work useful in the daily ministry, etc. The little brochure is both cheap and portable, and deserves a wide circulation.

An Abridged History of Greek Literature. By Alfred Croiset and Maurice Croiset, translated by George F. Heffelblower. New York: Macmillan, 1904. 8°, pp. 569.

The classical History of Greek Literature of the brothers Croiset is too well known to all modern students of Greek to need any commendation. At the same time its great length and exhaustive character prevent it from exercising its due influence on "students of secondary schools, and readers who wish to inform themselves quickly as to the essential facts of Greek literature." Professor Heffelblower of Carroll College has prepared an excellent abridgment of

the work of the Croisets. It gives the substance of their researches and appreciations, reduces the citations to a very reasonable proportion and includes an account of the masterpieces of Greek Christian literature. Professors of Greek, advanced students and the small but select world of Hellenizing souls generally, will enjoy this good summary of the best history of Greek literature in existence.

L'Infaillibilité du Pape et le Syllabus, Etude historique et théologique. Par Paul Viollet. Paris: Lethielleux, 1904. 8°, pp. 115.

The spirit of this brochure is indicated by its dedication to those Christians whom inexact notions concerning the papacy retain outside the unity of Catholicism. M. Viollet is a well-known French Catholic layman, a historian of Canon Law, a professor of the Ecole des Chartes and a prominent defender of Catholic interests. His discussion of the condemnation of Pope Honorius and of other popes in the course of ecclesiastical history deserves attention. M. Viollet is at once a critical historian, well grounded in his knowledge of the essentials of Catholic theology. This work may be read by all with profit; it bears the imprimatur of the archbishop of Besancon.

The Life and Times of St. Boniface. By James Williamson, M.D. London: Henry Frowde, 1904. 8°, pp. 137.

This is, generally speaking, a reverent popular account of the life of St. Boniface, with a title that promises more than it fulfills. The Protestant author still holds to the antiquated language of Exeter Hall, and speaks of the Romish (!) Church. His notions of papal history in the eighth century are very hazy—Gregory II was no rebel nor did he undertake to set up an independent republic. The true story of the relations with Byzantium and its Iconoclastic rulers may be seen in Duchesne's edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, or in Fr. Mann's History of the Popes of that period.

English Church History, from the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of King Charles I (1575-1749). Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1904. 8°, pp. 179.

These lectures of Dr. Plummer represent the substance of a series of popular discourses delivered to English reading circles. They are an attempt to justify the English Reformation and to patch up,

as best may be, the rents made in its character by many modern historians of great fame, both Catholic and Protestant. If the reader will peruse the works of Frederick George Lee, James Gairdner and James Brewer, as well as the great history of Lingard, he will have no difficulty in seeing e. g., that the Elizabethan persecution of Catholics was not primarily political but religious in purpose.

Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia. By Count Lützow. London: Henry Frowde, 1905. 8°, pp. 120.

The historiography of Bohemia is quite well set forth by Count Lützow in this small volume. It is a handy work of reference to be placed beside the noble works of Wattenbach and Lorenz on German mediæval historians. Here and there the author betrays a Protestant animus. As a rule the exposé of the spirit and characteristics of Bohemian chroniclers and historians seems fair and equitable.

L'Etude de la Sainte Ecriture. Lettre de Mgr. l'Evêque de Beauvais, Noyon et Seules au clergé de son diocèse. Paris: Lecoffre, 1905. 8°, pp. 83.

We recommend earnestly to all interested in biblical questions this wise, calm, and learned review of the situation written in a pastoral and homiletic spirit, as a judge of faith, by a very learned and distinguished bishop of France. His temper is critical and historical, yet Catholic and conservative in the true and proper sense of the word. Would that in all parts of the Christian world such authoritative voices were frequently raised in accents at once correct and religious!

The Conclave of Clement X (1670). By His Excellency Baron de Bildt. Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. I. London: Henry Frowde, 1905. 8°, pp. 26.

In these few pages the Swedish and Norwegian Minister to England sketches from the contemporary correspondence of the Catholic convert, Queen Christiana of Sweden, an account of some cursory and interesting episodes in the conclave that terminated in the election of Cardinal Altieri as Clement X (1670-1676). The human element, as always, is visible enough; the divine element, the assistance of the Holy Spirit, is visible also in the secular unity, consistency and uprightness of pontifical government.

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Bequests and Gifts to the University.—By the will of Miss Margaret H. Gardiner, of Baltimore, the University received the residue of her estate, amounting to \$99,003.52. A bequest of \$2,287.34 was also received from the estate of the late Mr. John McGinn, of Lockport, Ill. The Reverend Patrick G. Murphy, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Olyphant, Pa., gave \$5,000 to found a scholarship for the diocese of Scranton. Mr. Thomas P. Fay, of Long Branch, N. J., donated \$300, "as a contribution to the University for the purpose of establishing a beginning for a trust fund for a school for the study of international law and diplomacy."

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